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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1375

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ELECTRONIC TESTING DEVICE FOR TANK MAINTENANCE DESCRIBED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German Feb 77 pp 78-79

[Article by H. Pohl: "EP-576 Electrical Test Set"]

[Text] Maintaining optimum operational parameters is an important condition for achieving established armor equipment periods of operation. In operation values to be maintained are monitored by onboard controlling and measuring instruments. These instruments must therefore always be functional.

The EP-576 electrical test set was developed to check such electrical controlling and measuring instruments installed in armor equipment.

It can be used to check the electrical remote thermometer, oil pressure gauge and tachometer as well as the speedometer on armor equipment and the fire extinguisher systems on tracked armored vehicles.

The electrical test set can be used to localize the faulty part (indicator gauge, transmitter or lead) in defective controlling and measuring instruments. The defective component no longer need be sought by "trial and error" and repair time and spare parts requirements are reduced.

Test procedures are described in instructions belonging to the test set.

The electrical test set can be used in both garrison and field conditions. It is transported in the mobile tank electrical and communications workshop.

1. Technical Data

Dimensions of carrying case

Length	680 mm
Width	255 mm
Height	680 mm

Weight	60 kg
--------	-------

Number of testers	4
-------------------	---

Operating voltage	24 V DC (plus/minus 15 percent)
-------------------	---------------------------------

Maximum current consumption	
tester for voltamperemeter	
and fire extinguisher system	3.5 A
tester for temperature gauge/ generator	4.0 A
tester for pressure gauge	0.15 A
tester for RPM gauge	3.3 A

2. Construction

The four testers and connectors for the accessories are housed in a carrying case (Figure 1) [photo not reproduced]. The testers are so constructed that test work can be done on or in the vehicle. All parts to be tested can be connected with the accessories. The vehicle current supply is all that is required for operation.

The testers are fitted with handles for carrying. Rubber feet prevent slipping while working on or in the vehicle.

The comparison measuring instruments in the testers are protected against shock and impact by a removable cover secured with screws.

3. Functioning and Use

3.1. Tester for Voltamperemeter/Fire Extinguisher System (Figure 2).

This tester is used to check:

- voltamperemeter
- voltamperemeter lead
- fire extinguisher ignition
- priming cartridges in the fire extinguishers.

The voltamperemeter is checked by comparative measurement. Various measurement values are generated by an adjustable potentiometer. These values are measured by two gauges after pushing a switch. The two values are those from the gauge to be tested and the comparison instrument in the tester.

To test fire extinguisher ignition the heating switches in the vehicle or the thermoelectric transmitters are heated to the functioning temperature with a heater belonging to the electrical test set. Fire extinguisher ignition is indicated by telltale lamps.

Functional testing of the priming cartridges in the fire extinguishers is done by connecting them in series with the high ohm voltamperemeter.

3.2. Tester for Temperature Gauge/Generator (Figure 3) [photo not reproduced].

The tester is used to check:

- electrical remote thermometer indicator

- electrical remote thermometer transmitter
- transmitter with electrical remote thermometer lead
- unregulated generator.

The gauges are also tested by comparison measurement. The measurement values result from the transmitter change in resistance due to temperature change being simulated with an adjustable potentiometer.

The transmitters are warmed in a heater built into the tester. Temperature change in relation to time can be measured by the comparison instrument or from a connected gauge.

The instructions have a comparison curve for testing the UK-114B gauge and TM-100 transmitter with the TUE-48T comparison instrument.

Functional checking of the unregulated generator is done by connecting the leads to the exciter field and the generator current carrying lead to the tester. The generator is in order when the telltale lamps in the tester vary in brightness as engine RPMs vary.

3.3. Tester for Pressure Gauge (Figure 4) [photo not reproduced].

This tester is used to check:

- electrical oil pressure gauge indicator
- electrical oil pressure gauge transmitter
- transmitter with electrical oil gauge lead.

The indicators are also checked by comparison measurement. The adjustable measurement values are formed by the resistance changes of the transmitter through pressure change being simulated by an adjustable potentiometer.

The transmitters are checked by charging them from an air compressor built into the tester. The pressure can be measured by the comparison instrument or by a coupled gauge. A manometer with elastic measuring head is also built in to check the measuring accuracy of the gauges and their associated transmitters.

The UK-140 gauges and MW-352 transmitters are checked with the TEM-15 comparison instrument using a comparison curve contained in the instructions.

3.4. Tester for RPM Gauge (Figure 5) [photo not reproduced].

This tester is used to check:

- the electrical RPM gauge indicator
- the electrical RMP gauge transmitter
- the speedometer.

The gauges are also checked by comparison measurement. An electrical motor, the RPMs of which can be varied, drives a transmitter. Various measuring

values are generated in this way. The comparison instrument or the gauge to be checked measure the values when a switch is touched.

The transmitters and speedometer are attached to a shaft end on the tester. Their functioning is tested by driving them with the same RPMs as the built in transmitters use.

4. Maintenance

The electrical test set requires no special maintenance. It is to be transported as a set only and in the carrying case. In this case the covers are to be screwed down into the flanges and the screw or filler holes on the testers are to be closed with screws.

The testers are to be protected from impact and shock. Threads on the testers and cables must be cleaned and oiled lightly with vaseline. The accessories are placed in the connector receptacles provided.

5. Concluding Remarks

Maintenance specialists have received a high value tester with the introduction of this electrical test set. With the help of this set they are able to accomplish maintenance work on armor equipment electrical systems in less time and with higher quality.

But the multiple test capabilities of the electrical test set can be fully used only when maintenance specialists are qualified in using it, know the instructions exactly and conscientiously follow them.

As in the case with every tester, the electrical test set is continually ready and achieves high service use only if it is handled with care and consideration. Only a limited number of personnel is to be allowed to use the electrical test set so as to achieve professional work and avoid losing the many accessories.

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SIGNIFICANCE OF PERSONAL PASSPORTS EXPLAINED

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 9 Feb 77 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Personal Passports"]

[Text] Many readers have expressed a desire for detailed explanations concerning the personal passports of citizens. The questions which are of interest to the people have been brought to the attention of the competent bodies. Today the subject is discussed by the chief of the Passport Department Under the Directorate of the People's Police, Col Petko Denev.

[Question] 1. Which citizens of Bulgaria are obliged to have passports, and for what period are they issued?

[Answer] Bulgarian citizens who have reached the age of 16 establish their identity by the personal passport which is issued by the bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVR], and for servicemen, a document issued by the Ministry of National Defense. Persons placed under a complete ban are not to be issued personal passports.

Bulgarian citizens from 16 to 30 years of age are issued personal passports for a period of 14 years, and those over 30 years of age are issued termless personal passports.

[Question] 2. If a citizen loses his passport, what should he do?

[Answer] Citizens are obliged to carry their personal passports, to protect them against damage, loss and destruction, and upon request of the authorities are to present them for establishing identity.

With loss, theft or destruction, the holder of the passport is obliged within a period of up to 24 hours to notify the bodies of the People's Militia at the nearest division of the MVR. After investigating the case, the MVR bodies at the place of residence issue the citizen a letter to the people's council for providing him with the document for a new personal passport.

[Question] 3. What documents are required for the issuing of a personal passport?

[Answer] For the issuing of the personal passport, each citizen is obliged to submit to the MVR bodies the following: a birth certificate; a document from the local people's council with data concerning residence, family status and distinguishing features; two photographs 4 x 5 cm made by a state photographic studio, and a fee of 2 leva.

Citizens who obtain personal passports in Sofia and the okrug cities are to submit one filled out address card, and the others are to have two.

In exchanging personal passports, the citizens must submit the designated documents (without the birth certificate) and the old personal passport. If they cannot provide this passport due to loss, theft or destruction, an additional fee of 6 leva is collected from them. The additional fee is not collected from citizens whose passports have been lost, damaged or destroyed due to reasons not depending upon them.

[Question] 4. Are the changes which have occurred in civil status, family position of the citizen to be indicated in the personal passport, and within what time must this be done and by whom?

[Answer] Additional data are to be entered in the personal passports using special stamps according to the samples established by the MVR as follows:

- 1) By the bodies of the MVR in recording changes of address and when a citizen permanently lives in a border zone;
- 2) By officials involved in civil status matters under the people's councils with a change of residence, marriage, divorce, widowing, birth, adoption and death of children, and with guardianship, the name of the person placed under complete ban;
- 3) By the personnel services in hiring and dismissal from work;
- 4) By pension services in granting and halting a pension.

Other entries are prohibited.

The holder of the personal passport is obliged to submit it within a one-week period to the corresponding service for the entry of the changes according to the procedure indicated above.

[Question] 5. In what instances is the personal passport a required document in seeking various administrative services?

[Answer] A regularly issued personal passport with the entered additional data indicated in the answer to the fourth question is the basic document for establishing the identity of citizens in Bulgaria. Without the personal

passport, administrative services cannot be performed by the people's councils, banks, post offices, DSK [state savings bank], insurance institutions, pension services and so forth; they are not allowed to visit institutions and enterprises in which a pass system has been introduced; they may not stay in hotels, motels, camping grounds and other accommodations, and so forth.

No one has the right to give or receive a personal passport as a security pledge, to sell or use an identity document issued to someone else.

[Question] 6. In the line "Other Data" who has the right to make entries and for what reasons?

[Answer] On the pages allocated for "Other Data," entries can be made by the MVR bodies and with permission from them, as an exception, by other state bodies. With the introduction of a unified civilian number under the system of the unified civil registration of the population, the number will be entered in this column by the people's council.

[Question] 7. What are the obligations of the citizens for address registration?

[Answer] All Bulgarian citizens supplied with a personal passport are obliged to register their address at the address service of the population point where they live.

Servicemen do not register their address.

[Question] 8. What is the role of the housing managers?

[Answer] A person who changes his address is obliged to register his new address within 24 hours from the moment of his arrival. In leaving an address, the citizens are obliged to follow the following procedure:

- 1) They are to notify the housing manager at their old address where they are leaving in order to be removed from the housing book;
- 2) In registering at the new address they are to submit the canceled card for their old address to the passport service at the new place of residence. When the new address is in the region of the same passport service, they are to submit only the newly filled out card which also is used for the canceled one.

Citizens who provide accommodations to persons, regardless of under what pretext (visitors, renters and so forth), are obliged to promptly register them. The leaders of institutions, enterprises and organizations in hiring are obliged to demand that the persons register the addresses where they live.

The housing managers provide the complete and accurate address registration of persons living in the corresponding house or dormitory. They are obliged not to permit unregistered persons to live there, and in establishing such, cannot themselves provide their address registration, and are immediately to notify the MVR bodies.

The right of the housing managers to check the identity papers in line with address registration is verified by a document issued by the MVR bodies.

[Question] 9. If a Bulgarian citizen is absent from the country, must he give notice of this?

[Answer] Bulgarian citizens who are temporarily away in another country do not need to change their permanent addresses. How much time they are absent is of no significance. New reregistration is not required.

[Question] 10. Which citizens may obtain a temporary residence in cities where the ordinance for the temporary restricting of new residents is in effect, and who permits this?

[Answer] Temporary residence according to the Ordinance Governing the Temporary Restriction of New Residents in Cities as approved by the Decree No 112 of 25 November 1974, can be obtained:

For a period up to 1 year from the labor force bureau under the city people's council by workers and specialists essential for activities for which there are no candidates from the local inhabitants, or by commuting from other population points.

Temporary residence may also be permitted to other categories of citizens for a period of 1 year, as follows: persons appointed to elected positions in the central and okrug leadership of sociopolitical organizations and members of executive committees of people's councils, if they hold regular positions, employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with diplomatic rank elected as judges or appointed as a prosecutor or state arbitrators; professors, docents and senior science associates, as well as assistants and science associates with an academic degree, if they have been elected by competition and hold a regular place in the institutions of higher learning and academies; teachers and principals and deputy principals appointed by competition or election to teachers' institutes, if they have an academic degree; prominent artists, directors and instrumentalists accepted by competition for a regular position in national art institutes, and so forth.

A termless temporary residence is issued to elderly persons (men over 60 and women over 55) who have secure housing and are to live with their descendants, as well as persons who have entered a civil marriage.

Persons assigned to a job under the regular procedure are to be granted temporary residence for the period of the assignment, and for regular graduate students studying in institutions of learning, for the period of instruction. In addition, temporary residence is also issued for taking care of small children up to 6 months, and for visitors, up to 1 month. Members of families who have received a temporary residence for production reasons, residents of okrug cities who work or live in other cities on the territory of the okrug, and the residents of the city of Sofia, for all cities of the nation, as long as they work or live there.

For these categories of citizens who are temporarily residing, permission is granted by the MVR bodies after submitting the necessary documents.

BIOGRAPHY OF POLITBURO MEMBER GENERAL IVAN MIKHAYLOV

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 6 Mar 77 p 2

[Article by Adm Branimir Ormanov, deputy minister of national defense and chief of Bulgarian Civil Defense: "A Life Dedicated to the Party and the People; Army General Ivan Mikhaylov on His 80th Birthday"]

[Text] His life is an example and source of inspiration for every communist and revolutionary, for every patriot and internationalist. Comrade Ivan Mikhaylov is known in our nation, in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries for his unflagging revolutionary activity for the victory of socialism and communism. We recognize him as one of the ardent communists who have made, are making and will make a great contribution to the creation of a new socialist Bulgaria, to the development of life-giving Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, and to the cause of proletarian internationalism. And today he is as energetic and inspired under the conditions of a victorious socialist revolution.



Другарят Иван Михайлов като полковник от Съветската армия — 1943 година.

Comrade Ivan Mikhaylov as a colonel of the Soviet Army in 1943

Great is the recognition of the party and the people, and great is the fortune of working for them and seeing his motherland moving toward the shining heights of communism. For this good fortune, the revolutionary Ivan Mikhaylov has struggled since his earliest youth. And the environment in which he grew up encouraged his shaping and tempering as an unflagging fighter for the rights of the people.

He was born in Ferdinand (Mikhaylovgrad) on 7 March 1897. His father, a man of progressive views, during the events of 1923-1925, was arrested twice. Two of his brothers prior to the Liberation of Bulgaria from Ottoman slavery had participated in the Rakovski League in Belgrad. A second brother of Ivan Mikhaylov, Khristo Mikhaylov, was a well known leader of the Bulgarian revolutionary movement, a member of the Central Committee and Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and the commander-in-chief of the People's Liberation Rebel Army (NOVA) in 1943-1944. On 8 February 1944, he died heroically in an engagement with the police in Sofia. And other children in the family (there were six of them) were also caught up in the struggles of our party and people. All of them embraced the party's cause with all of their heart.

The childhood of Ivan Mikhaylov was spent in his home town, and he completed gymnasium [high school] in Vratsa in 1916. He spent the following year in the Sofia Reserve Officers School, and after completing it, in the rank of "officer candidate" was sent to the Southern Front. Shortly after the national catastrophe which befell the Bulgarian people in 1918, he was immobilized. In recalling these years, Comrade Mikhaylov has written: "I personally felt the hardships and terrors of the front, and in observing the miserable life and suffering of the population in the interior of the nation, I was full of hate for the plunderous bourgeois system. Immediately after demobilization from the army, I joined the BRSDP [Bulgarian Revolutionary Social Democratic Party], the only true defender of the interests of the working people and the opponent of war, as was clearly seen by its actions and agitation on the front and in the interior of the nation, and I became a member of it on 1 January 1919."

The struggle for a more just social system completely absorbed him. He was the secretary of the Komsomol organization in his home town, and an active participant in party and social life. In the county ["okoliya"] he was one of the initiators of the movement for collecting aid for the starving Russian brothers of the Volga Area. At the same time, in 1922, he completed the Legal Faculty of Sofia University. The active Komsomol member and young communist, Ivan Mikhaylov, was elected a delegate to the regular Komsomol congress, however this was not held due to the military fascist coup on 9 June 1923. He commenced his illegal struggle as a leader of a group of ten, and took an active part in preparing for and carrying out the September Revolt of 1923. He was given the mission by the party of spreading the word of the revolt in the town of Lom. The bold revolutionary participated twice in the battles for the capturing of Ferdinand and in the engagements at the railroad station of Boychinovtsi, as the commander of the Ferdinand battalion. Fascist power condemned him in absentia to 7 and 1/2 years of close confinement.

After the defeat of the revolt, Comrade Mikhaylov emigrated to Yugoslavia. Later on, upon a decision of the BCP Central Committee, he returned illegally to the nation for restoring the party and military organizations in Ferdinand and the county. This time his sentence in absentia was "death by hanging in a public place in the center of the oblast...."

In the autumn of 1924, he again left for Yugoslavia, and a year later, upon a decision of the BCP Central Committee, together with a group of Bulgarians, left for the USSR. In Moscow, at the Foreign Agency of the BCP, he met Georgi Dimitrov who recommended that he should enter the military academy. At the end of 1925, Ivan Mikhaylov was an officer candidate in the F. E. Dzerzhinskiy Military Technical Academy. After completing it (in 1930), as a military engineer, he joined the Soviet Army as an officer. During this period, he took an active part in the designing of new artillery systems, he led groups at plants, and was completely absorbed in the life of the Soviet nation which adopted him as its son. Even in 1925, upon recommendation of the Foreign Agency of the BCP, he was accepted as a member of the BKP(b) [All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik)].

The clouds were gradually gathering over the political horizon of Europe. The heroic struggle of the Spanish people had started. The internationalist Ivan Mikhaylov, as an artillery engineer, in the USSR carried out responsible assignments in supplying the Republicans with weapons.

World War II found him in service at the Tambov Artillery Technical School, as an artillery instructor, and later, as the head of a chair, and from 1943, the chief of an academic department. During the war he totally dedicated himself to preparing officer personnel for the Soviet, Polish and Mongolian armies. In the ranks of the Soviet Army, he reached the rank of engineer-colonel.

At the request of the Foreign Bureau of the BCP, in June 1945, Comrade Ivan Mikhaylov was released from service in the Soviet Army, and upon instructions of Georgi Dimitrov was sent in a responsible position to set up the Bulgarian People's Army. "In returning from the USSR to my homeland," said Ivan Mikhaylov, "I kept in my heart a feeling of enormous affection and respect for the CPSU and the Soviet government for having provided me with an opportunity to develop as a communist profoundly convinced of the rightness of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, as an internationalist revolutionary.... I consider the Soviet Union my second motherland."

With the same ardor and enthusiasm, with the same wholeheartedness and self-denial, he worked for the creation, strengthening and development of the BNA [Bulgarian People's Army]. Upon the proposal of the BCP Central Committee, he was appointed the chief of the weapons department at the Military Ministry and received the rank of major general. In 1947, he became the first commander of the Bulgarian artillery, and in 1950, the deputy minister of national defense. From 1958 until 1962, he was the minister of national defense. We rightly consider him to be the founder of the nation's Civil Defense. It grew up and matured under his immediate leadership.

During this time he devoted a great deal of force, energy and tenacity to carrying out the legacy of G. Dimitrov, that is, our army was to be set up and trained following the model of the Soviet Army. Under his leadership as minister of national defense, enormous and significant work was carried out

to introduce the April line of the party. He took an active part in setting up and strengthening the Warsaw Pact as a collective defense system of the socialist countries. "The constantly manifested aggressive nature of imperialism," he wrote, "forced all peoples to be vigilant and ready for decisive combat. This required all the socialist countries to keep their defense capability on the highest level...."

For 21 years he held the responsible position of deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and for a certain time was minister of transport and communications, and from 1971, a member of the Bulgarian State Council. From the Sixth BCP Congress (1954) onwards, Ivan Mikhaylov was continuously a member of the BCP Central Committee and the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee. From then up to the present, he was also a representative of the people, and for many years a member of the National Council of the Fatherland Front.

For services in the struggle against fascism and capitalism and for the construction of socialism, he has been awarded the high state decorations: "Hero of the People's Republic of Bulgaria" and "Hero of Socialist Labor," six Orders of G. Dimitrov, and many other orders and medals. He has also received the Soviet decorations: "October Revolution," two Orders of the Red Star, the jubilee medal "One Hundred Years Since the Birthday of V. I. Lenin," the Order of Aleksandr Nevskiy, and others. He has received the highest decoration of Mongolia, Suhe Bator, and the Polish order Renaissance of People's Poland with a star, as well as Hungarian, Czechoslovak and Cuban orders and medals.

In his reflections in the newspaper NARODNA MLADEZH, Comrade Ivan Mikhaylov stated: "I am ready with my still unflagging youthful ardor, until the end of my life, together with all the Bulgarian youth, to take an active part in the great battle for achieving our ultimate aim of communism." This is a sincere testimony of the fighter who is totally dedicated to communist ideas and to the revolution. This is the faith of a man who has gone through the crucible of the struggle and socialist construction. It is the fervent advice of a revolutionary and builder, of a communist man.

Grateful for the revolutionary struggle and activities and for the personal achievements of Comrade Mikhaylov in developing the armed forces of Bulgaria, the personnel and commanders of our army sincerely congratulate him and wish him many more years of health, a good life and youthful fervor, in order to work as devotedly for the construction of socialism and for the flourishing of our beloved motherland, the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

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CSO: 2200

BIOGRAPHY OF POLITBURO MEMBER GENERAL IVAN MIKHAYLOV

Sofia NARODNA MLADZHZH in Bulgarian 6 Mar 77 pp 1, 2

[Article by Lt Gen Avn Dobrin Dimitrov: "Always in a Leading Position"]

[Text] At the time of the 80th birthday of Army General Ivan Mikhaylov, member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and the State Council, Hero of Bulgaria and Hero of Socialist Labor, the Bulgarian public is experiencing a profound feeling of respect and gratitude for him. And if we look for the roots of this feeling, they are to be found in his unbroken tie with the people and the party, in the total dedication with which he worked as a communist, a patriot and an internationalist--wherever it was most necessary and wherever the pulse of the times was the fastest.

He himself experienced the misery and suppression of the capitalist system in Bulgaria, and from his early years linked his life with the struggles of the party and the people. And he was grateful that he chose this path, as there is no more noble goal than that of serving the motherland and the people. Ivan Mikhaylov himself has admitted: "When I look back, to the past, to those times of 1918-1919, when I joined the ranks of the BCP, and when I observe the magnificent, epoch-making events which were played out before my eyes, and see the enormous successes which the motherland has achieved in its socialist development under the leadership of the party in a little more than a quarter of a century during which the ideals have been realized for the sake of which we struggled during the glorious and heroic days of the September Revolt of 1923 and during the difficult battles after the defeat of the revolt until the victory of 9 September 1944, we can see and be aware of how correctly we acted in dedicating our life to the communist party and in becoming a member of it."

And his choice was not accidental. For many years the reasons and conditions for making him a communist were developing and maturing. The poverty in the large Mikhaylov family in the agricultural town of Ferdinand from his youth exposed him to hardship. He witnessed the fateful events for Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people, the two Balkan Wars, and in the trenches during World War I and in the Vlday Revolt inspired by the October Revolution, he saw the great truth of life, to fight an unceasing battle against the rule of the bourgeoisie.

With his joining of the party ranks, Ivan Mikhaylov took an active part in party and sociopolitical life in his town, he took the exams for the Legal Faculty of Sofia University, and brought new young members into the party. He was the secretary of the communist youth group in his home city, and for a short time it brought together virtually all the working youth and turned them into active assistants of the party. The party club where they could add to their political knowledge and join forces for solving the posed problems became a sacred place for them.

In the summer of 1920, Ivan Mikhaylov for the first time met the leader of the party, Dimitur Blagoev. He was traveling by train to Berkovitsa accompanied by his daughter Stela. Ivan Mikhaylov, along with his comrades, requested to meet him at the station. And during the short stop of 30 minutes, Blagoev was able to give them valuable advice and tell them of the victories of the Red Army against the interventionists.

The September Revolt was equally fateful for his party tempering. After working at the Lom Court, from 1922, he began a permanent career as a lawyer in his home town. From Zamfir Popov with whom he worked he learned not so much the profession of a lawyer as illegal party activity. His life was closely tied to the activities of such prominent revolutionaries as Gavril Genov, Georgi Damyanov and others.

Military knowledge from the reserve officers school, his participation in the war on the Southern Front and in the revolutionary battles of his area made him one of the active participants in the September Revolt. Even at that time Ivan Mikhaylov showed his commander qualities. He led the Ferdinand Rebel Detachment, and after the defeat, when again he had to choose his path, he did not vacillate. As an emigre to the USSR, he became a member of the CPSU, he completed the military academy, and served in the ranks of the famous Red Army in Leningrad, Kiev, Gor'kiy and Tambov. But this is not the complete picture of his revolutionary and international duty. He regularly participated in sessions of the party activists, he was well acquainted with the work and decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the successes of the Soviet people in building socialism, he carried out direct explanatory work in the party organizations of the enterprises and institutions, he helped in training political emigres from various countries, never forgetting for an instant the events and struggles of his homeland. About this period, Ivan Mikhaylov writes in his book "V Stroya" [In the Ranks]: "How difficult and torturous it was for me, when after 20 years of membership in the glorious CPSU, upon my return to Bulgaria, I had to give up my party card. My membership in the party of Lenin left its mark. Even now I feel that my stay in the USSR was the most fruitful and useful part of my life. In spite of the great difficulties which I experienced along with my Soviet brothers and with the Soviet communists, during that time I could understand life with its diversity and contradictions, and I could grow ideologically as a truly aware communist and a fighter for human truth and a happy life.

"...Even today I consider the USSR as my second homeland, and I am happy that I could dedicate myself to strengthening Bulgarian-Soviet friendship."

After the victory of 9 September 1944, Ivan Mikhaylov devoted his forces and work actively for the development and strengthening of the Bulgarian People's Army and the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact, and for the construction of socialism. His work as minister of national defense during the period from 1958 to 1962 coincided with the beneficial influence which the April Plenum of the BCP Central Committee had in the life of the army. As a battle-tested Marxist-Leninist, he devoted a great deal of labor to the correct and consistent carrying out of the April course of the party in troop life. He carried out significant organizational and political work to strengthen one-man leadership on a party basis. In the army, the initiative and activeness of the communists and all the personnel were further developed, the role of the political bodies was strengthened, confidence in the personnel was raised, all ideological work was decisively improved, and the ties between the army and the people were strengthened.

He ascribed a great role to the organizational command work of the commanders and the staffs, to the assimilation of a party style of work and leadership for the military councils. I recall how at one of the sessions of the Military Council for Air Defense and the Air Force, he examined in detail the Leninist principles of leadership, he explained how they must be introduced into our work and stressed the necessity of raising the responsibility of all units and bodies in carrying out the tasks. And since he knew that our command personnel was still young, he provided personal help. And there were many problems to be solved. New weapons were being introduced, the structure and command of the troops were being improved, and new difficult types of training were being mastered.

Regardless of his great involvement in carrying out important party and state tasks, Army General Ivan Mikhaylov always finds the time to show people attention and respect. And this ability of his to help by advice and personal involvement is a routine matter for him. Charm, accessibility, sensitivity, party and military talent--scarcely by these words could we bring out his humble appearance as a man and a communist. But if we ask to what these are due, again we must emphasize his Bolshevik tempering in the ranks of the CPSU and the Soviet Army, his complete subordination to the commands of the party and the people, and his total dedication to the good of the motherland, to strengthening the military might of the army, to the construction of socialism, and to the victory of the communist ideal throughout the world.

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CSO: 2200

'TRIBUNA' CALLS CHARTER 77 INSTRUMENT OF INTERNATIONAL CAPITALISM

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 5, 2 Feb 77 pp 4-5

[Article by Kvetoslav Matejka: "The Sun Can Never Be Covered With a Finger"]

[Text] At present the whole world is experiencing a great struggle for the future of mankind. The achievements of the socialist community in the development of economics, sciences and culture, in the development of democracy for the broadest strata of the working people and in general care for man are becoming more evident all the time. This community of equal states based on common ideology and application of Marxism-Leninism, bound by their common interests, tasks and objectives, is affecting ever more deeply the world revolutionary process in mankind's transition from capitalism to communism.

Together with nations that are struggling against imperialism for their independence and free development, together with the working class and the working people in capitalist countries under the leadership of the communist parties, with the support of all democratic, peace-loving and progressive forces, a struggle is being waged for peace, democracy and social progress.

The participation of the socialist states, most of all of the Soviet Union, in that struggle brings hope for this planet's future.

In the contest between socialism and capitalism the balance is leaning more markedly toward socialism. There is a growing number of working people who are looking with confidence upon the policies of the socialist community and who are also entrusting to it their future.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are waging that struggle openly, honestly and sincerely, in order to fulfill the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. They are waging it with optimism stemming from the understanding of the laws ruling the evolution of human history.

It is not an easy struggle. Its advantage, however, is that it is not accompanied by a thunder of cannons, by the rattling of tank tread, by the roar of airplanes and rockets.

In such an unquestionably persistent battle of politics, economics and ideologies of two antagonistic systems it is quite natural that the party which must leave the "stage" is fighting doggedly. Its most reactionary circles are trying to use all their true and tested means to reverse or at least to stop the world revolutionary process.

Such circles are mistaking the competition, peaceful coexistence and cooperation with the world of socialism for arms-rattling; they are using all kinds of dirty means in the fight. They would like to revive the cold war atmosphere in international relations; they are persecuting progressive people, in particular the communists, and holding them in prisons; they are fomenting nationalist outbreaks and organizing political assassinations, not shirking even from installing fascist regimes.

The traitors and turncoats of the revolutionary movement, all those renegades and revisionists who can be found in any country in the world, serve as allies of the world anti-communism.

Especially important for the world reaction are those people who are living in socialist countries. Such preachers of anti-communism for whom the pompous title of "dissidents" has been invented are fulfilling the task of destroying the unity of the people with the communist movement. They are being used for all kinds of actions, so that such an "opposition" in socialist countries may serve to deceive the working people in their own countries; they are trying as much as they are able to hamper primarily the peaceful development in the world and to impair the growing peaceful cooperation in international relations and peaceful coexistence of the two world systems, that is, the policy which from its very beginning has been fostered by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries upon whose initiative it was also expressed in the Final Act at Helsinki.

While our new world is building its economic security, capitalism is undergoing a profound, all-encompassing crisis which strikes every area of its social life. The proof of it are the millions of unemployed and under-employed, the inflation, increasing rate of crime, drug addiction of the young people, all types of corruption, as well as its hopeless ideology and policies.

All that has intensified their effort to use every, so to say, "non-conformist" statement, view, letter of an individual and fabricated pamphlet of a group in one or another socialist country in order to present them as the attitudes of the "majority" of the working people.

"The sun can never be covered with a finger. The real history will not be written by reactionaires, slanderers, intriguers, or traitors..." said Fidel Castro from the platform of the 25th CPSU Congress.

Indeed, such people have not written the history, but they are frequently compiling various pamphlets, slandering socialism and attacking it. Such a collection has been enhanced earlier this year by another made-to-order concoction under the title "Charter 77."

Having learned the names of its signatories, our people could clearly see what it was all about. Angry and resolute protests were heard from the workers in the industry and cooperative farms and from our intelligentsia. Voices of the sportsmen, officials of the National Front's social organizations, clergymen, scientists and technicians were heard. A wave of condemnation has risen in every community of our country, in every place of work.

Even those individuals who recognized their errors and mistakes committed during the 1968-1969 period stood up against the contents of the Charter and its signatories.

Who is it speaking through Charter 77? Those are precisely the same individuals who have misled many honest citizens with their cries for a "revival" and for socialism "with a human face." And exactly as before, at this time they are again talking about democracy, freedom, human rights, although they had not permitted those with different views to express their opinions publicly. They harassed everyone who frustrated their effort to revert the development of socialism and return our republic into the lap of capitalism. They provoked vicious campaigns against such individuals threatening to "hand them from the lamp posts." They have driven many honest citizens to suicide. They have forgotten that they had planned internment camps for the "unreliable" after the "victory" of the so called "democratic socialism."

The authors of the Charter are no naive simpletons who could have thought that our memory is so short. We read their names; how the enemies of socialism of the 1948 vintage are flocking together in harmony and how the opportunists and revisionists as well as the bankrupt politicians of 1968 go hand in hand with them--what a truly colorful palette of individuals that is! To them socialism and the working people have always been, still are and forever will be alien.

You, Messrs. Havel, Kriegel, Cerny, Kohout, Hajek--you don't have a chance in our country! Your names appear under that disgraceful document. By whom did you want to be remembered? You should have considered yourselves lucky that your deeds were gradually fading into oblivion. Our society has offered you the opportunity to correct and redeem your errors and mistakes with honest work for socialism. Nevertheless, you still are following only your own egotistic interests and the interests of your masters

just as before. In their behalf you signed up with the forces of the reaction, as you have reaffirmed in Charter 77. All the honest people in this country despise you!

You wanted to enter "history." However, the world revolutionary process cannot be stopped and whoever tries to stop it will be flung aside and end in the abyss of history.

That is what has happened to you. The people have condemned you, the world reaction is applauding you. You get the support of every anticommunist center, including Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, the bourgeois press, the revanchists in GFR. Indeed, that is the best testimony! After all--"the birds of a feather flock together!"

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CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

NEW WESTERN ANTICOMMUNIST TACTICS INSIDE CSSR DESCRIBED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Feb 77 p 3

[Article by Josef Grousl: "The Philosophy of Anticommunism"]

[Text] Anticommunism has pursued since the forties of the past century the discrediting of scientific socialism--the teachings of K. Marx, F. Engels and V. I. Lenin, which the world proletariat adopted. This goal has not been and will not be realized. Just as the first socialist state in the world, the Soviet Union, has not been eliminated. It is only logical that imperialism cannot even attempt the direct elimination of the current world socialist system owing to its economic, political and strategic military might.

Toward Old Goals With New Tactics

The essence of imperialism has not changed. In view of world development it is, however, constantly changing its tactics and adjusting as much as possible. That is naturally not a display of its strength. We cannot, however, just stand nonchalantly by and watch the anticommunist activity.

The modified tactics of modern anticommunism stem from the reality of the policy of detente, which the socialist countries and especially the Soviet Union enforced and continue to enforce. The adjusted tactics of anticommunism belong to its old attempt to harm socialism on all sides.

The qualitative change especially in the ratio of forces between capitalism and socialism in favor of socialism in the strategic military field was the reason that at the beginning of the 1960's the attention of anticommunism was focused on the ideological field.

The attempt at internal disruption of the socialist countries with the aid of so-called internal forces was carried out in Czechoslovakia in 1968-1969. The fact that imperialism and anticommunism did not succeed in our country did not, of course, have the result that these forces would cease to speculate on how to approach once again and in a better way the attempt to realize the old strategic goal.

After 1968 the West set about reevaluating its tactical plans in subversive ideological diversionary activity against the socialist countries. Already in 1969 H. Kissinger in his book "American Foreign Policy" formulated some new principles and tactical bases. He began at the time with a criticism of his own ranks: "The American leadership shows great competence in work with the technical aspect of problems, but much less virtuosity in controlling the historical process."

Therefore, it is not only a matter of the organization of anticommunist campaigns or actions, but it is important to map out above all the concrete historical development and its motive forces, to know the relationships within individual socialist countries and here to become familiar with the distribution of the so-called internal forces, that is, the renegades and other elements who are ideologically disposed in favor of the anticommunist goals and are against the policy of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the socialist countries. Anticommunism has always taken such "accomplices" into account and wants to take them into account in the future as well. Therefore, they have made a name for themselves abroad and for this action they are supplied with the necessary means and aid.

The Accomplices of Anticommunism

In the sphere of anticommunist subversive activity, which, to a considerable extent is being realized simultaneously with the foreign policy of the imperialist states or which ensues organically from it, our enemies were also concerned about the significance of the time factor in the ideological struggle against the socialist countries being duly appraised. It is necessary to advance in a way in which "the present would not subjugate the future."

Ideological diversionary activity cannot be carried out from day to day. The dynamics of events are great. However, in order to be able to deal with the "perspective" of the anticommunist subversive activity, namely in specific forms in relationship to the individual socialist countries, the modern anticommunism needs its own proper accomplices" within the socialist countries. Naturally, such are those who hide behind mottos such as "the struggle for human rights," "equality for all," "we are for dialog" and so on. The tactical orientation for such a course in the anticommunist struggle against the socialist countries was again corroborated in December 1975 at a confidential meeting of American ambassadors in Europe, which took place in London.

In April 1976 THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE was even able to write: "We must not regard detente as a process which ... actually favorably serves the Soviet powers. We must see our task in the fact that we will channel or curb that force. That is our central problem in future years."

Therefore, the policy of peaceful coexistence should henceforth be exploited so that "the USSR and the socialist countries would be linked by a number of dependences and ties with the West." Such relations would be eminently

suitable for the so-called internal forces in their disruptive ideological diversionary action within the socialist countries.

On the part of the main capitalist powers too much zeal should not take place in subversive activity--that could harm the entire tactical scheme of anticommunism. It also stems from the world strategic military situation. Strategic balance, they say, provides more advantageous opportunities for regional pressure. Indeed, anticommunism is adjusting its tactics in this way and in this way also wants to proceed against the Polish People's Republic, the GDR and the CSSR.

They Sing Praises to the Hand That Feeds Them

The domestic renegades and antisocialist elements have their place and function in these tactics of modern anticommunism. Just recently the emigre tabloid SVEDECTVI wrote about the tactics of the Czechoslovak political emigres with respect to the domestic renegades: "We can no longer remain silent, we must ask certain fundamental questions which have risen from our own actions."

Do these anticommunists believe that maybe their hiding behind the Final Act and in the period before the meeting in Belgrade will make possible their subversive ideological diversionary activity against the CPCZ and the CSSR? That is how it follows from their action, although a tactical principle was formulated which, as they say, divides the tasks. "For us the struggle is taking place above all in the country. The leadership of the movement must take over the internal opposition," the journal SVEDECTVI writes on.

Modern anticommunism needs such "patriots." For they "know" the situation of the internal development here. The anticommunist headquarters thus have easier work and need not waste time on devising various schemes and speculations.

The so-called information of the domestic wrecks and pretenders is creating at the anticommunist headquarters in the West the required basis of false ideas of the so-called objective news, for example, from the CSSR, which are again "objectivized," in order to fill in "pure" anticommunist form the air waves or the rotary presses of Western printing syndicates.

Anticommunism had and has an interest in the active work of such "advocates of democracy and humanism" in the socialist countries. Therefore, there is also invariably such uproar when any of them finds himself beyond the area of the original operation. Anticommunism is affected by this, it loses necessary sources and contacts--it ends up where it has always been and must time after time speculate, lie, plot and fabricate new semitruths, and find "linkages." That makes for more work and costs more time.

In the subversive ideological diversionary activity of modern anticommunism the so-called spiritual creativity "from within" the socialist countries is

of particular importance. Thus, for example, Professor V. Cerny rates socialism as something that "is not at all connected with any specific theory or method of social liberation" A remarkable discovery--also one tidbit of anticommunism. Anticommunism takes complete advantage of such a "philosophy" for far-flung misinformation of the workers in the West. And it is possible to operate with that which is so important for the tactics of anticommunism--the opinion which originates in Czechoslovakia.

Our country should be comprehensively discredited in the West. That is not a new goal. Now, the new "friends of the people" were to help in this line. They solemnly swear, just as they did before 1968 and during it, that for them it is a matter of nothing more than "the improvement of socialism." We ourselves recognized that, and therefore such a "philosophy" does not have here, just as in the other socialist countries, chances for success.

In spite of the successful development in our country, the statement made at the conclusion of the 15th CPCZ Congress has been affirmed: "The struggle against right-wing opportunism did not end with the political defeat of the right and the departure of its exponents from the political scene. The fundamental struggle against all varieties of revisionism and opportunism remains henceforth a consequential task, especially of the ideological front."

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CSO: 2400

EAST GERMANY

FEBRUARY 1977 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Feb 77 p 4

[Helmut Caspar review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 2, Feb 77, signed to press 11 Jan 77, pp 129-256: "The Humanism of Our Society." Translations and/or summaries of the articles by the authors referred to below as well as by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] "Since the victory of the Great Socialist October Revolution socialist humanism is no longer merely a theoretical concept but at the same time a historic reality. The entire history of the socialist society in the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community of states proves that socialism and humanism cannot be separated from each other." This is noted by Alfred Kosing in EINHEIT (No 2/1977), which devotes its column "The Topic" to the humanism of socialism.

While Kosing deals, among other things, with the attempts of militant anti-communists to slander the real humanism of our social system, Peter Alfons Steiniger demonstrates that today peaceful coexistence marks international relations, a fact which, however, does not mean that the enemy has given up its anti-peace activities. "The stronger socialism, the more secure is peace" is the quintessence of this contribution. Hermann Klenner outlines in his observations "Human Rights in the Class Struggle" another aspect of this topic. A compilation of facts and figures proves how remote imperialism is from implementing human rights and freedom.

Several contributions in this issue are devoted to questions of our economic policy. Dieter Weger, for example, studies the effect of intensification concepts on scientific-technical progress, while Gerhard Wagner shows how enterprise party organizations help mobilize reserves for intensification. Finally Harald Buehl deals with the intellectual-cultural life in the labor collectives. Other articles are devoted to the topic "Culture and the Main Task" and to the struggle of the peoples of Latin America against the fascist dictatorship ruling there.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

BASIS, AIMS OF SOCIALIST HUMANISM DISCUSSED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 2, Feb 77 signed to press 11 Jan 77
pp 139-148

[Article by Prof Dr Alfred Kosing of SED Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences; president, Association of GDR Philosophy Institutions: "Our Real Humanism and Its Foundations"]

[Text] With the shaping of the developed socialist society, the humanistic essence of socialism comes to the fore more and more. The working class is heir to and spokesman for the humanistic ideals and revolutionary traditions. The exercise of power by the working class in alliance with the other classes and strata, and liberated labor, are decisive prerequisites and conditions for the further molding of the humanistic achievements, characteristics and values of socialist society. This paper takes issue with anticommunist defamations of the real humanism of our society.

"I know a time will come when men take pleasure in each other. . . . All over the earth free men will stride, great in their freedom. . . . Then all life will be but a single service to man, and majestic will be his image. . . ."1 By these words Maxim Gorki, in his novel "The Mother," summarizes the dreams of the young class-conscious worker Andrey of socialist society. What then still was the future, for Gorki, it is more and more becoming the reality of their lives to people in the socialist world. Free from exploitation, suppression and social insecurity, together they are shaping, through creative work, their socialist present and communist future. Each step taken in this direction endows the humanistic essence of this great work of construction with more and more real shape and world-transforming strength.

On the foundation of its enormous achievements in the economic, social and intellectual-cultural fields, socialism is unlocking all possibilities for making life more humanly dignified. "The supreme precept in our socialist society is the respect for human dignity. Here human rights have been made real, and the right to work, education and recreation is fully guaranteed."2

The unity of economic and social policy as issued by the Eighth and the Ninth Party Congress, which accords with the meaning of socialism and serves the good of the people, aims at steadily improving men's material and cultural standard of living in order thereby to produce ever better conditions for the individual to be able fully to develop his creative capabilities and abilities and to engage and confirm himself as a free socialist personality.

The Working Class--Heir and Continuer of Humanistic Ideals and Revolutionary Traditions

Humanistic ideas and endeavors have played an important role in the struggles for the social progress of mankind ever since the class society originated with its dividing mankind into exploiters and exploited, rulers and ruled. They originated in the various countries and cultures as the ideological expression of real class interests rooted in any given material social conditions. They were a form of protest against the existing social circumstances in the antagonistic class societies and expressed men's yearning for a social order in which all could live happily.

Bourgeois humanism, with its ideal of a cultured and harmoniously developed man who could work actively for the good of humanity in a society of liberty, equality and fraternity, turned against the reactionary feudal society, the spiritual despotism of the feudal churches and the debasement of human reason. It played an important role in ideologically setting the stage for the bourgeois revolution, to a large extent shaped the substance of bourgeois culture and education at that time and thereby exercised manifold progressive influences on social development. After the victory over the feudal aristocracy and the full emergence of capitalism with its new class antagonisms, the general-human claim inherent in bourgeois ideology, and bourgeois humanism as well, more and more came to serve as disguise for the egoistical class interests of the bourgeoisie and became a means of its spiritual domination over the working classes. Yet within the humanistic conceptions and ideals of the most consistent bourgeois thinkers there were elements pointing beyond the class barriers of the bourgeoisie and the historical boundaries of capitalism, thereby anticipating a development of human society and personality which only becomes possible at a historically higher level of human development. This applies, above all, to many conceptions of utopian socialism.

With the rise of the working class into an independent social and political force and its organized struggle for liberation from capitalist exploitation, and with the emergence of Marxism as the theoretical expression of the historic position, interests and goals of the working class, humanism receives a new social base, removing it from the barriers of the antagonistic class society, as well as a theoretical foundation, which divests it from all utopian features and, for the first time, bestows upon it a character that was scientifically ascertained. The working class becomes the social bearer of a comprehensive and consistent humanism because it can obtain its own liberation from exploitation and suppression only by suspending the conditions for all exploitation and the existence of classes altogether and, through the construction of

socialism, and later of communism, creates that economic form of society "which insures, through the greatest upswing of the productive forces of social labor, the all round development of man."³ This qualitatively new socialist humanism is inseparable from the historic mission of the working class for establishing the classless communist society. By bringing to realization the historic objectives chartered by the conditions of material existence, the working class becomes the executor of an inevitable development of society which, in its course and outcome, not only makes possible but, more and more, actually calls for the free development and employment of men's creative abilities and the all round development of personality.

The concrete objectives given at any time for a possibly universal development of individuals; the formation of socialist personalities, are not derived from some abstract ideal of humanity; they result from an analysis of the developmental stage of the productive forces and production relations of socialist society and the demands arising from this, being placed on the abilities, the knowledge and activities of men. Socialist humanism is based on the scientific historic-materialistic interpretation of society. Marxist-Leninist philosophy, particularly the materialistic conception of history, contains a scientific conception of man, of his activity and his development, which, together with the other components of Marxism-Leninism, form the theoretical foundation of socialist humanism.

The working class and Marxism-Leninism thus appear in the great line of humanistic tradition. They are the true heirs to all humanistic activities and struggles and all humanistic conceptions and ideals. "The state of the workers and farmers it was which revived, and absorbed, the best traditions and humanistic ideals of German history, leading them to their efflorescence under socialism. All sound and pioneering ideas and acts of German history, serving human progress, are carefully being preserved in the GDR and are alive among its people."⁴

Socialism--Real Humanism

Since the victory of the Great Socialist October Revolution socialist humanism is no longer merely a theoretical concept but at the same time a historic reality. The entire history of the socialist society in the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community of states proves that socialism and humanism cannot be separated from each other.

The first decisive step toward bringing real humanism to realization is the socialist revolution in which the working class, in alliance with the other working classes and strata, seizes power and institutionalizes it as the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The possession of political power has made it and makes it possible for the working class to carry out the program on realizing socialist humanism in practical social circumstances, under the leadership by its revolutionary party, as scientifically defined by Marx, Engels and Lenin and creatively further developed by Marxism-Leninism.

Socialist society has liberated the working people from exploitation and suppression, social misery and dread of existence. This historic fact is a humanistic act of fundamental importance. The 60-year history of real socialism is marked

by the creation and target-directed shaping of social relations and material and intellectual-cultural conditions for a meaningful life for all its members.

Socialist humanism also manifests itself in our republic by achievements, characteristics and values of socialist society that already are being more or less taken for granted. In the GDR, men's rights to work, social security, leisure and recreation, public health care, and assistance and support in sickness and old age have been realized. Socialist society has not only eliminated the educational monopoly of the class society; but the uniform socialist educational system guarantees to every citizen in our state a modern education and advanced education and socialist training as basis for shaping a socialist personality. The same purpose is also served by the growing satisfaction of men's cultural needs and interests and their active involvement in the cultural-intellectual life, in physical culture and sports.

Women's equality has long been realized, and better conditions are created all the time allowing women to make full use of these equal rights of theirs.

Among the most important achievements of real socialism is the real possibility for comprehensively sharing in the shaping of the political, economic, social and cultural life of socialist society and of the state. Through increasing creative activities by the citizens in the socialist state, wherein socialist democracy finds its vivid expression, the sovereignty of the working people is made real. No less important, however, is the fact that, on the basis of socialist production relations and under the leadership by the working class party, qualitatively new relationships have originated among the people, which are marked by comradely cooperation, mutual assistance, genuine equality and the respect for the freedom and dignity of others.

On the basis of socialist production relations, men's socialist way of life can form and further develop, through which the humanistic substance of socialism more and more enters everyday affairs, practical conduct, and the thinking and sentiments of men, by which it comes to permeate all of life.

And of course -- as is essential in socialism -- the truly real humanism of our society also demonstrates itself in the rigorous struggle for the preservation and protection of peace. From the "Peace Decree" issued by the young Soviet power up to the present, the historic development of socialism has been tied up with innumerable international activities on the part of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries all dedicated to enforcing the policy of peaceful coexistence and to permanently securing world peace.

Conscious Work as Foundation for Our Real Humanism

Marx and Engels already established that the most important criterion for the degree to which humanism was realized in a society lies in the character and social place of work. In labor freed from exploitation, no longer merely a means for subsistence but gradually assuming the character of creative activity by universally educated, cultured and gifted personalities with rich interests, the nature of socialist humanism obtains somewhat of a focus. Work is the

most immediate and important basis for the development of socialist personality. Work is the domain through which the society's material conditions of existence are created and further developed. It is the area in which the decisive social interrelations among men originate, where their way of life, their social, ideological and moral profile is drawn. And true enough, the experiences we have made, particularly after the Eighth Party Congress, have confirmed "emphatically how correct Lenin's thesis is which says that the most important decisions in the construction of the new form of society are made in the economic field. The main task, the unity of economic and social policy, has exercised and is exercising the most profound influence on providing a higher development for our socialist society in all its domains."⁵ To the extent that the socialist character of labor is shaped further, new and higher demands arise for the knowledge and abilities of the producers, for their skill in jointly managing and planning social production and reproduction. And there also grows, in unity with it, the working people's will to perform, their readiness to live up to the higher demands. This becomes especially noticeable by the massive development of socialist personalities who are improving their technical skills, are elevating their cultural-technical level and are participating with expertise in the management and planning of public affairs on all levels while proving themselves as "rich individual," -- rich, that is, in needs and relationships. This connection is emphatically corroborated by the increase in the proportion of working people taking part in the innovator movement from 19.2 percent in 1971 to 29.4 percent in 1975.⁶ Thus, liberated labor is not only a characteristic of socialist humanism but also a source which steadily gives rise to new impulses for realizing humanistic objectives in all vital areas of society.

The qualitative difference between socialism and contemporary capitalism, the latter being an inhuman society in its very essence and foundations, can be seen particularly clearly in the nature of work and in the social position of work. The inhuman nature of the capitalist social system is strikingly revealed by the fact that in the developed countries of state monopoly capitalism there are approximately 15 million unemployed, let alone altogether the less developed capitalist countries and the legacy of imperialism in the former colonies. For the millions of working people and their families permanent unemployment means the loss of their basis of subsistence, misery and social insecurity, and the waste and disintegration of creative abilities, degradation, demoralization and, eventually, the destruction of their personality, in other words, a human tragedy of the vastest scope.

Our Constitution not only formulates the right to work as a basic right but, with it, makes it incumbent upon society and its organs to create all conditions for this right to be implemented in accordance with public requirements and technical qualifications for each member of society. And it is profoundly in line with the humane character of socialist society that our party's resolutions focus on gaging the effectiveness and intensification of production also against how, with production growth and reduced expenditures, working conditions are improved, the nature of work is progressively being changed and thus, a greater margin is provided for personality development.

That human labor cannot release its humanistic content in capitalist society and can contribute only to a limited extent and in a contradictory manner to the development of the working people's personality is by no means chargeable to the state of development in the productive forces. On the contrary: they have long reached a stage that calls for the transition to a higher form of society. Capital, as Karl Marx stated more than a century ago, impels "a development of the social productive forces and a creation of material production conditions which alone could form the real basis for a higher form of society, the basic principle of which is the full and free development of every individual."⁷ Yet this development proceeds in an antagonistic manner in capitalist society. It of necessity leads to an intensification of the conflict between productive forces and production relations, to a deformation of the productive forces, to a boundless elevation of the degree of exploitation of labor, the sharpening of all social conflicts and finally also a further growing alienation of men. The surmounting of the antagonistic form of social progress by means of the socialist revolution sets the preconditions for that in socialist society the development of the productive forces and of liberated labor can become the immediate foundation for the development of the creative forces, facilities and talents of all men.

If the development and testing of socialist personalities mainly take place through labor, it also means that this is the case in and with the collective as well. Rich and universally developed individuals -- and by rich again we mean rich in social relationships, needs, interests and abilities -- cannot form in isolation but only through interchange with society. The humane character of socialism is embodied, therefore, in liberated labor and the personality shaped by it as well as in the new social relationships between men and the collective and social forms within which personality develops and asserts itself.

Collectivism, socialisms' peculiar "association of individuals (of course under the preconditions of the developmental stage of the productive forces), which places under its control the conditions for the free development and movement of the individuals,"⁸ provides the fundamental distinction between socialist humanism and bourgeois humanism, the latter having been primarily individualistic. In the bourgeois understanding, capitalist society appears as an accumulation of individuals facing one another as independent proprietors, so that individualism makes its showing as a natural bourgeois idea. As bourgeois humanism regarded culture and education, that is, the influencing and forming of the individual person, as the main field in which to realize its purposes, that one-sided focus on the unitary individual was as logical as was its being rendered as an absolute in individualism. The sphere of labor, however, and the inter-human relations generated in it were, by and large, left out of consideration.

To socialist humanism, on the other hand, that precisely is the decisive sphere in which the humanistic objectives are primarily realized. Its collectivism is based on the realization that personality can freely develop only through vivid contact and interchange with the collective, that collective labor activities form the most important foundation for personality development and that, finally, social progress is the end result of the collective efforts undertaken by men.

Marx and Engels summarized this insight by saying: "Only in community (with others has every) individual the means for developing his talents in all directions. Only in the community, thus, personal freedom becomes possible."⁹ And they also emphasized: "While man is social by nature, his true nature develops only in society."¹⁰

This also furnishes socialist humanism with the place value of the social relationships among men. With socialist society, based on the political power of the working class and the public property in the means of production, interhuman relations have developed, in the form of the socialist production relations and the social relations derived therefrom, which are of a truly humane character. Particularly in connection with the formation of the socialist way of life it is becoming more and more visible that, above all, the process of further developing the socialist content of labor is inseparably connected with the further development of socialist personalities and collective relations. Daily life provides the experience that the strength of the collective adds something to one's own strength and that the joint struggle on behalf of the solution of social tasks, especially in socialist competition, fosters valuable interhuman relations and supplies one's own personality with manifold impulses. That brings it about that the demands will grow which the individual places on the political-moral level of the collective relationships, as will also the will for performance and the readiness of the individual to live up to the higher demands of the collective, assume responsibilities in and for the collectives and so forth. These qualitatively new relationships among the working people, more and more strongly shaped by socialist modes of thinking and conduct, are by no means confined however to the labor process. They are expressed in the close alliance relations between the working class, the class of the cooperative farmers, the socialist intelligentsia and the other working people, in the various forms of the citizens' participation in the active exercise of socialist democracy, in the forms of social life developing in the residential areas and in other areas. That fact that in socialist society the working people are participating in equal terms in the shaping of their own social life, and that the appreciation the individual receives from society is inseparably connected with his performance and his relationship with this society, which in turn is creating ever better conditions for a meaningful and happy life for all its members, turns out to be more and more the decisive factor, peculiar only to socialism, for socialist personality development. On this foundation are developed comradely cooperation, mutual aid and solidary support. They are becoming more and more the decisive features in men's social and individual conduct.

With the stage of development of socialist society attained up to now, we also have conquered a high degree of social and individual freedom. The most important content of this freedom is that the working masses, as the owners of the means of production, as producers and bearers of political power, increasingly better manage, plan and form society's entire development process, the increasing appropriation of nature by means of science, technology and production, the perfecting of social relations and facilities as well as men's developmental conditions, based on recognized and deliberately utilized inevitabilities.

Social freedom in socialism develops along with the objective conditions and the growing ability of men for controlling those conditions. On their basis and within their framework there then also widens the margin for individual freedom, the possibility for all individuals consciously to shape their lives, their development and their activities as personalities, in that they can enter into richer social relationships and make proper, well founded decisions. A high degree of social and individual freedom is characteristic of socialist humanism and, at once, a measure for the practical implementation of its objectives. "Experiences made with socialism and its development, not only by our own people, indicate," as Comrade Erich Honecker put it, "that it is the only social order in which man is a man, the only order shaping the future of mankind."¹¹

The Dilemma of the Anticommunist Slanderers

The more the developed socialist society consummates its new historic quality and brings its advantages to bear, the more clearly emerges the humane character of socialism. The boundless advances and impressive successes of socialism in shaping a truly humane society have enormously increased its worldwide political-ideological and moral radiating strength. More and more people in the capitalist countries are beginning to understand that socialism alone makes possible the solution of urgent problems humanity faces such as peace, work, social security, welfare, education, and free development of personality. Especially in the "third world" countries which were liberated from colonialism the attractiveness of socialism is growing, and the desire of many states for a socialist orientation in their future development is becoming stronger.

The impressive advance socialism is making on the way of real humanism and, simultaneously, the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism with all its consequences, which are making its inhuman nature so utterly apparent, are putting the imperialist ideologists into an extremely uncomfortable situation. They are seeking a way out by means of intensified ideological struggle against socialism, with all the stops of anticommunism pulled out, from vicious fabrications via gross slander to subtle theoretical distortions. More and more into the center of their ideological struggle they are moving the falsification and defamation of the humane character of socialism and of its humanistic achievements and policy.

The most aggressive ideologists of the imperialist bourgeoisie are labeling socialism -- usually with reference to individualistic notions -- an inhumane utopia, and they seek to denigrate it as if it were the very embodiment of "unfreedom." For example, the 1976 "Basic Program" of the CSU has announced its uncompromising struggle against any and all ideological orientations "which -- by reference to their own understanding of progress -- fancy themselves the possessors of worldly doctrines of salvation and arrogate to themselves the right always to decide who may make a meaningful use of which rights and may have a claim to them. Such a socialization of individual basic rights, undertaken, above all, by dogmatic Marxism and zealous socialism, amounts to the abolition of democracy and of the constitutional state."¹²

By their demagogic slogan of "freedom or socialism," the most reactionary circles in the FRG seek to disorient and intimidate the West German population in order to repress the influence of socialist, and even social reformist, ideas and aspirations.

As such slanders of socialism and unabashed antisocialist views find no fertile soil in the socialist countries, the imperialist ideological warfare centers prefer to use other means for their ends. More and more they are banking on anticommunists who are calling themselves "true socialists," on revisionists and "ultra leftists" who are carrying on their struggle against real socialism under the pretext of wanting to "improve" it, that is, make it more "humane," "democratic" and "libertarian." They are engaged in destructive criticism of socialism, are denigrating its humanistic achievements, are denying its profoundly democratic character and are suggesting fundamental changes which come down to replacing socialist democracy by some "pure democracy," that is, to eliminating the political power of the workers class and, thereby, socialism itself. The mass media in imperialist countries, particularly in the FRG, are making their broadcasting periods and columns available to such alleged socialist in the most generous fashion. Are they doing that out of concern for the development of socialism perhaps? The purpose of such ideological diversion, of this kind of interference in the internal affairs of socialist states, lies in producing, with the help from such people, a feeding ground for antisocialist and revisionist ideologies and activities and thus attacking the foundations of socialism from within. That strategic conception, however, fails to take account of the reality, the strength of real socialism. Which makes us certain in predicting that it is doomed to fail as other anticommunist conceptions have failed. With the continued purposeful shaping of the developed socialist society, within the community of the fraternal socialist countries, our humanistic work is gaining structure and strength. It makes always more evident that only socialism can solve the social problems of humanity, and that it is real humanism.

In seeking to justify capitalism and the rejection of socialism, reformist social democratic ideologists have recently done more -- while resorting to Karl Popper's anticommunist theory of the "open society" and his so-called piecemeal social engineering technique -- in advancing the opinion and argument that socialism used men merely as a means to an end, namely to increase production, and that it sacrificed life's happiness of whole generations for the doubtful happiness of a utopian communist future. First it says, in a compendium titled "Critical Rationalism and Social Democracy": "Man does of course need goals and ideals; he must of course have ideas of a 'better' society." At once, however, the authors disqualify the ideal of a better society as utopia: "But his efforts at improving what exists should be aimed at the elimination of concrete ills. More meaningful than gaining happiness by force is to eradicate the causes of misfortune and to fight against poverty, sickness, suppression and exploitation in any form. For ills are palpable, while happiness is utopian."¹³ Yet the historical experiences in the struggle of the workers class, the reality of socialism as well as the theoretical comprehension of social development have long proven unequivocally that all

evils of capitalist society, like exploitation, unemployment or poverty, can be eliminated and the causes of these misfortunes be eradicated only through overcoming capitalism and constructing socialism. In order to disguise that connection, the authors are contrasting the palpable ills of capitalism, not with the reality of socialism which has long removed those evils from the world, but with some nondescript utopian happiness, while they are trying to represent the establishment of a better society as a coercive realization of some "utopian design." "Here utopia establishes a kinship with coercion, for 'ultimate goals' of authority can in the long run be maintained only by means of force."¹⁴ Whatever these social reformist piecemeal ideologists may have faithfully borrowed here from Karl Popper's arguments, in the final analysis it comes down to a total falsification of the dialectics between end and means in the practical realization of socialist humanism.

End and Means in Our Humanistic Work

This indeed is of decisive importance to properly understanding the nature of socialist humanism. Why are production growth, improved labor productivity, and the development of the productive forces priorities in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society? Because it principally depends on the developmental stage reached for the productive forces to what extent, how comprehensively and how consistently the humanistic goals of socialism can, in a given phase of development, be realized. Ultimately, all decisive factors of social and personality development depend on that, such as social wealth and its distribution, the social division of labor, the working and living conditions, men's needs and the possibility of their satisfaction, the degree of leisure and the forms in which it is used. That also applies, not last, to the armed protection of socialism, the most humane social order of human history thus far and thus, the decisive factor in the struggle for safeguarding peace in our time. The further development of the productive forces and the perfecting of the material-technical base must therefore by no means be seen merely as an economic task but, at the same time, as a decisive humanistic objective of our society on the solution of which all further aims depend.

This is the main road and, with it, the decisive means for realizing socialist humanism more and more comprehensively in the practical life of socialist society. In this way the increasing social wealth is produced, which makes possible for the humanistic purpose of socialism to be brought to realization at an ever higher level. Our sociopolitical program thus stands up as socialist humanism in action. For the steady improvement of the material and cultural standard of living, the improvement in the housing conditions leading all the way to the solution of the housing problem, the considerable increases in minimum wages and rentals and the greater allocations for education, culture and health care are providing for all people in the socialist society ever improving conditions for living a socially secure life in human dignity. The development of production and of the productive forces are men's means for the purpose of satisfying their needs and creating conditions for the development of human personality. There are no alternatives because the mode of production of a society forms the decisive material basis for all of public life, including the development of personality, of the abilities and creative capacities of individuals.

The profoundly humanistic essence of Marxist-Leninist party policy becomes most evident in that its entire activity aims at ever better enabling the working masses in consciously organizing their social process of life in free self-determination on the basis of objective inevitabilities, that is, in developing as the subject of the historical movement. All cultural and political-ideological educational work and, in particular, the instruction in the scientific world-outlook of Marxism-Leninism serve that end.

This also implies how one-sided it would be to understand the realization of socialist humanism as a steady increase of the material standard of living only. Socialist humanism has nothing in common with the petty bourgeois idol of the so-called consumer society. It does not regard the ever better satisfaction of material needs as an end in itself but as a necessary condition for a cultured life in human dignity. It forms the indispensable basis for allowing people to live free from material cares and under the best possible conditions for developing their abilities, gifts and talents and engaging in them in the interest of society.

In accordance with objective inevitabilities and the conditions resulting from the preceding activities of the working people, always those tasks can be solved throughout the developmental process of socialist society for which the material preconditions have by then become ripe. Our goal, the classless communist society, cannot be reached by a "big leap." But does that mean that the generation that is constructing socialism and, through shaping the developed socialist society, creating the fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism is "sacrificed to the communist future," as anticommunist ideologists would like us to believe? Are "suffering and sacrifices" imposed on contemporary society in the interest of "ultimate goals," as is claimed by the above mentioned "piecemeal social engineers"? A closer look at this question reveals that all that amounts to slandering socialism with the obvious purpose of denying its profoundly humane character. The truth is that every developmental segment in the development of the new society is a necessary step toward bringing socialist humanism to realization and means for the working people an improvement in their material and cultural standard of living, enrichment for their lives in toto and, at once, the creation of more favorable conditions for the development of their personality. Each new developmental segment produces better possibilities for the life and the universal development of individuals because it, in turn, could build on already developed conditions, and the same holds true for the subsequent phase. The nonsensical notion that under socialism man would be "sacrificed" on behalf of the future stems from the idealistic concept those theoreticians hold, to the effect that the construction of communist society were an attempt at realizing utopian goals by inhumane means, not a consciously organized developmental process of society based on objective inevitabilities.

We are purposefully and systematically continuing this process in accordance with the Ninth SED Congress decisions. We thereby are working for the interests of the workers class and all working people, for the well-being and happiness of the people. That is the meaning of socialism. Therein stands confirmed its real humanism.

FOOTNOTES

1. Maxim Gorki, "Die Mutter" (The Mother), Aufbau publishing house, Berlin and Weimar, 1965, p 149.
2. Erich Honecker, "Zu aktuellen Fragen unserer Innen- und Aussenpolitik nach dem IX. Parteitag" (On Topical Questions of Our Domestic and Foreign Policy After the Ninth Party Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 14.
3. Karl Marx, "Letter to the Editorial Board of OTECHESTVENNYE ZAPISKI," Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 19, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 111.
4. Erich Honecker, "Siegesbewusst auf sozialistischem Weg, Reden und Aufsätze" (Certain of Victory On the Socialist Path--Speeches and Essays), Vol 3, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 175.
5. Kurt Hager, "Der IX. Parteitag und die Gesellschaftswissenschaften" (The Ninth Party Congress and the Social Sciences), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 14.
6. Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 74.
7. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol 1, Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 23, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 618.
8. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "The German Ideology," "Werke," Vol 3, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1958, p 75.
9. Ibid., p 74.
10. Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx, "The Holy Family," "Werke," Vol 2, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1957, p 138.
11. Erich Honecker, "Zu aktuellen Fragen . . .," loc. cit., p 42.
12. "Grundsatzprogramm der Christlich Sozialen Union," Munich, 1976, pp 17-18.
13. Georg Luehrs, Thilo Sarrazin, Frithjof Spreer and Manfred Tietzel, "Critical Rationalism and Social Democracy," "Kritischer Rationalismus und Sozialdemokratie," Berlin, Bonn-Bad Godesberg, 1975, pp 39-40.
14. Ibid., p 40.

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EAST GERMANY

SOCIALISM'S ARMED STRENGTH TO GUARANTEE PEACE

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[Article by Prof emer Dr Peter Alfons Steiniger, member of World Peace Council, president of GDR League for the United Nations: "Socialism-- Home and Bastion of Peace"]

[Text] Banning war from the life of the peoples is a fundamental humanistic goal of socialism. Mainly because of its strength one has been successful in insuring the longest peace period of this century in Europe and in safeguarding world peace in so far as peaceful coexistence has become the main trend in international relations. The countervailing trend, not to be underrated, is shaped by aggressive imperialist forces that are intensifying their militant anticommunism. From every point of view it follows: The stronger socialism, the more secure is peace.

Banning war from the life of mankind is a great basic humanistic goal of socialism. For bringing it to realization, the Soviet Union and the socialist states allied with it are struggling together with the communist and workers parties and with the anti-imperialist forces in the world, and millions of people of diverse origins and persuasions inside and outside the world peace movement along with them. Pushed into the defensive by history, the aggressive imperialist circles with their militant anticommunism are seeking to enforce a return to the policy of confrontation. In view of that drift and of the transformation of whole regions into nuclear arms arsenals, Comrade Erich Honecker expressed what is in the hearts not only of the 29 communist and workers parties of Europe but also in those of all peace-loving people in the world when, in opening the Berlin Conference, he declared: "There is no more urgent task today than to protect the present and the future generations from new disaster and to secure peace permanently."¹

As the working class is the one that has truly appropriated the ideal of peace, it is the first one in history that is capable and, because of its revolutionary mission, obligated to bring it to realization. The ideal as such has had a long history. But only Marx and Engels have shown how it is to be transformed into historical reality. They combined the dream of peace of antiquity, of the Renaissance, of early bourgeois enlightenment, the Christian praying for "peace on earth" and Immanuel Kant's hope for "a gradual approaching of eternal peace" (as a reflection of the French Revolution) with the objective revolutionary mission of the workers class. "With the opposition of the classes within the nation, the hostile position of the nations to one another collapses."² That way the "Communist Manifesto" solved the mystery of the origin of war and pointed the way to the conquest of peace.

The Safeguarding of Peace and the Strength of Socialism

The First International at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 was true to this recognition and obligation. In the "First Address" by the General Council, composed by Marx, it was pointed out that the workers themselves were sending to one another messages of peace and friendship, while official France and official Germany threw themselves into a murderous struggle. This great fact alone proved that "in contrast to the old society with its economic misery and political insanity, a new generation is coming into being whose international principle will be peace because the same principle is alive in all nations and it is called -- work!"³ Marx proceeded there from the inner connection between exploitation and eradication, from the consideration that the profiteering and expansionist private ownership in the means of production (which today is mainly that of the monopolies) separates the peoples, whereas labor liberated from exploitation unites them.

As later it became unavoidable that socialist and capitalist countries would temporarily continue in juxtaposition, Lenin, starting with the "Peace Decree,"⁴ elaborated the conception for the historical necessity and the eventually, through harsh class struggle, attainable enforcement of a nonmilitary confrontation. Contained in it also is the idea of the contest, unavoidable in the economic field, between the two opposing systems through cooperation without discrimination that would also be mutually advantageous. Lenin was convinced that objective economic necessities would, as a matter of fact, force the capitalist statesmen into accepting the peaceful coexistence in practice. He said in December 1921: "There is a stronger force than the wish, will and decision by any hostile governments and classes; that force lies in the general conditions of the world economy which are forcing them to establish relations with us."⁵

From Lenin's willingness, expressed even under the conditions of the harshest struggle, "for economic agreement with America; with all countries but particularly with America" (1919)⁶ and for peace with the peoples in Asia as in Europe (1920)⁷ a straight path led to the establishment of the principle of international cooperation in the UN Charter (1945) which the USSR had promoted and to the relevant agreements, to be understood as a total entity, in the Final Act of Helsinki (1975), the core of which lies in the 10 fundamental principles set down therein as, in particular, sovereign equality, noninterference, inviolability of the borders and territorial integrity.

Thus from the very start, as the strategic principle of socialist foreign policy vis-a-vis capitalist states, peaceful coexistence has meant more than the mere absence of war. It always involved, and now involves, as far as the Soviet state and, later, the states of the socialist community were concerned, the all round democratic transformation of international relations, the leashing of the aggressive forces of imperialism, and the maximal elimination of the threat and use of force. It was clear from the beginning that this would be a process full of difficulties and with steady substantive enrichment in accordance with any given historical conditions.

Among the most important objectives of the Soviet coexistence policy in the prewar period belonged the safeguarding of democratic peace, the establishing of normal diplomatic and equal economic relations, the banning of aggression, disarmament, the setting up of a system of collective security in Europe, and the taming of the fascist aggressors. Many of these objectives, especially the prevention of World War II, in view of the then existing international correlation of forces, turned out to be unattainable, not last because of the anti-communist and anti-Soviet "appeasement" policy of the Western powers vis-a-vis the aggressive policy of Hitler fascism. With its destruction, primarily because of the glorious struggle by the Soviet Union, and with the transformation of socialism into a world system, more favorable preconditions arose for carrying through the peaceful coexistence policy and for effectively countering acts of imperialist aggression, the aggressive imperialist forces opposing the growing strength of socialism, and the surmounting of the cold war they had unleashed and, at times, brought to white heat.

If one did succeed in restraining the forces of the cold war and in solving, or bringing closer to solution, a greater number of issues that had ripened in interstate relations in Europe, whereby one could safeguard on our continent the longest peace period of the century, it all was due to the continuing qualitative changes in the international power ratio in favor of socialism, democracy and the peoples' independence, and chiefly, to the dynamic development of the political, economic, ideological and military strength of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community of states.

The most visible success of the policy defined by the 24th and the 25th CPSU Congress lies in the fact that because of this power ratio one has managed to safeguard world peace while turning detente, the policy of peaceful coexistence among states with differing social orders, into the main tendency in international relations. Saying this, we by no means underrate the perils in opposing trends, the attacks coming from revanchist, militaristic and fascist forces.

Being realistically vigilant (for they are aware of the value of their achievements and of the unchanged expansionist nature of imperialism), the citizens in the socialist states are rigorous defenders of peace and the contenders for peaceful coexistence with the capitalist states. The peace policy of the socialist states has objective bases. Wherever the workers class is truly, and thus irrevocably, in power, socialism stands up as the consistent power of peace, and this for the plain reason that in its power sphere all armaments profits and, with them, all public forces interested in material war preparations,

were forever eliminated, nor have any of their agents the freedom to engage in war mongering and agitate on behalf of reestablishing the imperialist regime that enslaves other peoples and its own people. Life in the nearly 60-year history of the Soviet power and the more than 20-year history of the socialist community of states has confirmed time and again what has become a practically proverbial realization: Socialism brings peace and needs peace. The peaceful coexistence policy that is consistently being pursued by the Soviet state under the leadership of Lenin's party is not of a tactical, but of a strategic character.

Against Subversion and Militant Anticommunism

The peaceful coexistence between socialist and capitalist states by no means does away with the opposition between their social systems and the struggle between those two social orders. That is true particularly for their ideological confrontation. However necessary political compromises may be, however reasonable agreements in terms of international law may be or however useful the forms of economic and scientific-technical collaboration, even the most fruitful exchange of genuine cultural values will never do away with the incompatibility between the Marxist-Leninist and the bourgeois world-outlook. Pointless therefore are all imperialist attempts at demanding a "price" to be paid by the socialist states for this peaceful coexistence, a self-mutilation of their social order through "opening up" for counterrevolutionary propaganda, possibly even in an organized fashion. The principle of the noninterference in internal affairs is a basic prerequisite for the implementation of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social orders.

The gross "roll back" policy has ended in failure. The "containment" doctrine directed against socialism, which in principle was much like it, and the "bridge building" concept, meant to disguise intervention, have failed too. Whoever, incorrigibly, seeks to bring to realization more of the same imperialist dreams of restoration under the slogan of wanting to "liberalize" or "pluralize" the socialist states, will only again meet with more failure. Any kind of "erosion," which only means a softening up policy toward the socialist states, only attacks the peaceful coexistence, for its design is the more or less "peaceful" destruction of socialist states by means of subversive interference. We resolutely oppose that kind of a policy because it poisons the international climate and jeopardizes detente.

That also applies to the so-called "selective" coexistence, that is, the arrogance on the part of the imperialist states to opt for coexistence with one or another of the socialist states, always depending on whether or not they meet the "erosion" politicians' expectations. All that amounts to is the unsuitable attempt at carrying the imperialist "divide-and-conquer" method over into the sphere of real socialism. The agreement among all Warsaw Pact member states, so evident from their Bucharest Declaration of 26 November 1976, especially with respect to the struggle for the implementation of peaceful coexistence, and here again particularly to supplementing political relaxation by the military relaxation, underscores how unrealistic all the speculations

of the "erosion" and "selection" politicians are. Where subversion begins, peaceful coexistence ends. In the spheres in which it is possible, and indeed necessary in the interests of the living and the future generations, understanding is endangered by attempts at interference. Only recall the search the scientific-technical revolution bids us to engage in for new sources of energy, the exploration of space and the world's oceans, the control of modern transportation problems and the guarantee for environmental protection.

Ultimately all imperialist distortions of peaceful coexistence, disguised or not, serve the confrontation policy of militant anticommunism. In the document of the Conference of Communist and Workers Parties of Europe, of 30 June 1976, the parties declare: "They consider it their duty to direct the attention of all popular forces to the damage militant anticommunism is doing to the development of the movement for progress and peace. The communist parties are not regarding all who do not agree with their policy or take a critical position toward their activity as anticommunists. Anticommunism is and remains an instrument used by the imperialist and reactionary forces, not only against the communists but against other democrats and the democratic freedoms as well. Those forces are engaged in campaigns against the communist parties, the socialist countries, starting with the Soviet Union, and against the forces of socialism and progress. These are campaigns that aim at discrediting the policy and ideals of the communists among the popular masses and at obstructing the unity of the workers movement and the cooperation of the democratic and popular forces. It is in the interest of the desires of the popular forces for progress and democratic development that anticommunism is isolated and overcome. The communist and workers parties will act in such a way that their policy and ideals of justice and progress, whose carriers they are, will more and more become a force that fosters the broadest unity of the working people and popular masses."⁸

Once Ernst Thaelmann warned the peoples: Hitler -- that means war. Today it becomes evident: Militant anticommunism plays with the fire of a World War III, a nuclear war, the prevention of which, as Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev emphasized in his interview with an American journalist in December 1976, is the dominant task of our times.⁹ No sensible person in the world could deny this central objective. In order to hitch, nevertheless, the popular masses in the fortresses of imperialism to the wagon of anti-detente profiteers, the propagandists of reaction are resorting to the age-old lie about the alleged peace-slogan camouflage the Soviet Union had given to its aggressive designs. For 60 years, the proponents of aggression and intervention have been proclaiming: "The Russians are at the gate" to attack and incorporate the bourgeois states. For 60 years, reality has given a lie to such fairy tales. How right that expert U.S. Senator was who said that the fable of the Soviet threat to the United States is always blossoming whenever the arms budget is on its way to the Budget Committee. No wonder then that Georgy Arbatov, director of the U.S. Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, has found that the moldy lie of USSR intentions of aggression was particularly rampant at the time when the Pentagon was asking for a record arms budget of over \$ 112 billion for fiscal year 1977.¹⁰

Peace Activities by Socialism

There are unmistakable signs indicating whether a government only talks about peace in order to camouflage its war preparations or is serious in advocating permanent peace. A sign like that is, for example, the willingness to reduce, simultaneously and on equal terms, troops and armaments on the basis of the undiminished security for all participating states (the proposal by the socialist states taking part in the Vienna disarmament negotiations), or also, mutually to renounce a nuclear first-strike (the proposal by the Warsaw Pact states to the signatories of the Final Act of Helsinki) as well as the obligation to refrain from the use of armed forces "making use of all types of weapons, including nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction on land, on the sea, in the air and in outer space (world treaty draft on renouncing the use or threat of force in international relations, late September 1976, 31st UN General Assembly, submitted by the USSR).

An unmistakable sign of creditable peace policy has been the successful initiative for a world conference on the total complex of the disarmament issue and its being prepared by an extraordinary UN special session. This too was an initiative from the Soviet Union, and here again are imperialist states that shy away from the light at such a conference.

The CPSU Central Committee General Secretary it was, again, who stressed the need for getting to a Soviet-U.S. strategic arms limitation treaty on the basis of the accords concluded between the USSR and the United States in Vladivostok in 1974, which had an expiration date attached, before they in fact expire. The importance of a constructive result for preventing a nuclear world war is obvious. Andrey Gromyko said at the 31st UN General Assembly that this theme occupied a pivotal place and in its importance far transcended the frame of interest of only two states.¹¹

A clear sign of a country's true policy orientation toward permanent peace are, above all, long-term investments for developing a peace economy and engaging in long-range scientific research to satisfy the material and cultural needs of the population. A look at CEMA planning and the coordinated plans of the member countries gives a clear answer about the will for peace by the Soviet Union and the states allied with it. L. I. Brezhnev's categorical statement "The Soviet Union has no intention to attack anyone" only confirms the option in favor of permanent peace inherent in the very nature of socialism.

Distortion of Peaceful Coexistence

Enemies of detente -- especially in leading NATO circles -- claim the strong armed forces of socialism were contradictory to the socialist states' peace policy or threatened even the capitalist countries. The truth is that invincible defense capability of the Soviet Union and of the countries allied with it does indeed interfere with the implementation of the aggressive plans of revanchism. An example close at hand may illustrate how it is: The international importance of firm borders between the GDR and the FRG, supported once again in Helsinki by the multilaterally confirmed territorial status quo

for Europe. This is a border between two states with opposing social orders which both belong to two fundamentally different alliances. Dangers are arising particularly from imperialist intentions to interfere in the internal affairs of the GDR, in contradiction to international law and to the outcome of the Helsinki Conference. They are expressed in that the highest political court in the FRG, the Federal Constitutional Court, treats the GDR as "legally bound" -- which is actually against all international law -- as if it belonged to the FRG, that the FRG Constitution makes the GDR citizens out to be FRG citizens, and that an assize court in the FRG encourages breaking through the border, in violation of GDR laws, while offering those that might break through, freedom from prosecution in the FRG, even if, like double-murderer Weinhold, they walk over corpses while breaking through.

The example for the need of maximum security for such a border, in the interest of avoiding dangerous tension, shows most clearly: The availability of strong armed forces of socialism has been and is prerequisite to an effective peace policy. The existence of such forces also protects the peoples of the capitalist countries from adventurous forces of imperialism which, while misconceiving the power ratio, are making common cause with a whole flock of old fascists versed in adventures and defeats. They could be persuaded to risk an armed operation against socialism which, though hopeless for them, could be extremely dangerous. The strength of socialism demonstrates the utility of realistic political conduct to statesmen of the imperialist powers who, as one knows, are accepting the policy of peaceful coexistence with the socialist states not out of love for communism.

There is another objection which is deeply untrue, to the effect that the solidarity of the socialist community of states with the peoples struggling for their national liberation contradicted peaceful coexistence. As the example of Angola has shown, the socialist states' solidarity policy also serves the safeguarding of peace. To claim that such solidarity contradicted the noninterference principle is absurd. After all, this aid is given as desired by the peoples fighting for democratic self-determination against imperialist aggression! There are no strings attached to that! It obviously serves the peoples' and states' independence struggle selflessly! That is the way it was in Cuba and in Angola. L. I. Brezhnev stated at the 25th CPSU Congress: "The Soviet Union does not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and peoples. It is an irrevocable principle of Leninist foreign policy to respect the inviolable right of each people and each country to choose its own path of development. We do not, of course, hide our light under a bushel. In the developing countries, like everywhere, we are on the side of the forces of progress, democracy and national independence, and we are holding to them as friends and comrades in combat."¹³ From the Cuban vantage point, Fidel Castro said this: "The Soviet Union, having given our people decisive aid, never has made any demands or conditions, has never dictated what we have to do. In the entire history of international relations, for millenia marked by egoism and coercion, there have never been such fraternal relations between a powerful and a small country. Only socialism makes such relations between peoples possible."¹⁴

Stupendous is the claim made by reactionary enemies of detente that detente is a "once-way street" in the socialist direction and peace, a one-sided plus for socialism. What an "unintended compliment for socialism," Comrade Erich Honecker said. "Actually, one could not say anything better of socialism than that it is interested in peace and fighting for it. The benefit of it, if you come right down to it, accrues to all peoples."¹⁵ The claim of a one-sided benefit simply is not true, for the Final Act of Helsinki, for instance, aiming at security and cooperation, is of vital importance to all signatory states. Ironically the WASHINGTON POST asked American opponents of the Final Act who claim that it is only "of advantage to Moscow": "Is it logical to assume that the political leaders of Western Europe would deliberately and joyously have agreed to sign the Helsinki protocol if they had thought it one-sided and of advantage only to Moscow? Would the Pope in Rome, to whom the Catholics look for spiritual leadership, have misled many of his faithful followers by design?"¹⁶

From every aspect it follows: The stronger socialism, the more secure is peace. The more secure peace is, the better it is for socialism and the other forces of social progress as well as for the life of all peoples. Socialism is the home and bastion of peace in the world.

FOOTNOTES

1. Erich Honecker, "Konferenz der kommunistischen und Arbeiterparteien Europas, Berlin, 29. und 30. Juni 1976, Dokumente und Reden" (Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties of Europe, Berlin, 29-30 June 1976--Documents and Speeches), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 214.
2. Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, "Communist Manifesto," "Werke" (Works), Vol 4, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 479.
3. Karl Marx, "First Address of the General Council on the German-French War," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 17, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 7.
4. V. I. Lenin, "Second All-Russian Congress of the Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies," "Werke," Vol 26, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, pp 239 ff.
5. V. I. Lenin, "Ninth All-Russian Soviet Congress," "Werke," Vol 33, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 138.
6. V. I. Lenin, "Answer to Questions by a Correspondent of the American Newspaper THE CHICAGO DAILY NEWS," "Werke," Vol 30, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 34.
7. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "Answer to Questions by a Correspondent of the American Newspaper NEW YORK EVENING JOURNAL," Ibid., p 357.
8. Erich Honecker, op. cit., pp 25-26.

9. "Leonid Brezhnev on Questions of Disarmament," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 30 December 1976.
10. G. Arbatov, "Socialism and Peace Are Inseparable," APN publishing house, Moscow, 1976, p 22. There are also protests against the arms race in the United States, of course. PRAVDA on 24 December 1976 reported about a meeting of the UN Society of the United States in Washington, where it presented a disarmament memorandum prepared by an expert close to the Society. At the conference the authors stressed "the high priority for negotiations on nuclear weapons control" and the "need for seeking a generally acceptable solution that would tame the arms race."
11. Cf. Andrey Gromyko, "Peace in the World Must Be Made Permanent," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 29 September 1976.
12. L. I. Brezhnev, "25th CPSU Congress--CPSU Central Committee Status Report and the Next Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 28.
13. Ibid., p 17.
14. "Speech by Comrade Fidel Castro-Ruz to the 25th CPSU Congress," PRESSE DER SOWJETUNION, No 13, 1976, p 356.
15. "Zur Durchfuehrung der Parteiwahlen 1975/76. Aus dem Referat des Genossen Erich Honecker auf der 15. Tagung des ZK der SED," (On Holding the 1975/76 Party Elections. From the Speech by Comrade Erich Honecker at the 15th SED Central Committee Session), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1975, p 14.
16. Quoted from IZVESTIYA, 21 November 1976.

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EAST GERMANY

TIMELESSNESS OF HUMAN RIGHTS CONCEPT DENIED

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[Article by Prof Dr Hermann Klenner, Central Institute for Philosophy,
GDR Academy of Sciences: "Human Rights in the Class Struggle"]

[Text] Proceeding from class concerns, from the class-bound legal demands of the revolutionary workers movement and from the evidence that demands for human rights always reflect class interests, an explanation is given of why socialism alone is in the position to guarantee and bring to realization for all the freedom and equality rights and the respect for and the protection of the dignity and free development of personality. The author takes issue with bourgeois human rights theories and with attempts at misusing the human rights problems for anticommunist ends. He presents the connection between safeguarding peace, the self-determination of the people and human rights.

The program demands of the class-conscious workers movement, where and whenever they have appeared, can be summarized in one sentence: Struggle for the liberation from exploitation, suppression and the manipulation of man so that "each can freely develop his human nature and live with his neighbors under humane conditions."¹ From the "Communist Manifesto" (1848) to the statutes and guidelines of the International Workers Association (1864) and the Communist International (1919), from the Moscow Declaration of the Communist and Workers Parties (1960) to the document of the Berlin Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties of Europe (1976), from the June Appeal of the KPD (1945) to the most recent SED Program (1976) -- the demands by the class-conscious workers always turn into the leading idea of proletarian humanism: Replacing capitalism, with its enmity to the workers, by a social order in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.

As every social class forced to fight for its interests and for progress against the rulers with their laws and force, so the workers also initially formulated their demands as demands for rights, starting with the right to assembly for the trade union and party, the right to the freedom of opinion and publication for the labor press, an equal voting right for the non-propertyied, equal rights for the sexes, the right to work, to the 8-hour day, free education and jurisprudence, the separation between church and state, the freedom of belief, conviction and demonstration, all the way to general military service, the appropriation of the means of production by the producers and their right to the exercise of political power -- only to mention the corner stones of such demands raised anywhere and everywhere. As these demands, in expressing the interests of the workers class, at the same time are aimed at an objectively necessary transformation of society, in the outcome of which the self-determination of each is embedded in the self-determination of all the people, these freedom and equality demands amount to the first human rights demands in history where word and content are not at loggerheads. Because the class concern of the proletariat ultimately is a concern of mankind, its class-bound claims to rights in the struggle against exploitation and suppression, against war and racism, are claims to human rights.

And also for the same reason are, after the revolutionary elimination of exploitation and suppression, the constitutional class rights of the dictatorship of the proletariat aiming at the essential developmental conditions for all members of society in its totality and tendency, socialist human rights. In socialist society for the first time every citizen has not only the right but the real possibility too to participate in running the economy, culture and the government, regardless of his nationality or race, his philosophic or religious allegiance, his social origin and social position, in freely developing his creative abilities, unrestrained by exploitation or suppression. For the first time he now meets a government that is not against him, in opposition to which he would have to insist, as previously and elsewhere, on his freedom rights. It is among the natural maxims of socialist government policy to respect, protect and help develop the dignity and freedom of personality. For the first time in socialism each is entitled to the guaranteed claim to take part in the decisions on politics, the economy and culture, whereby he takes part in determining the social conditions of his own personality development. Here for the first time the exercise of his human rights finds the recognition and support by the society and the state. Only under socialism every citizen enjoys the guaranteed right to a free choice of a job in accordance with social requirements and personal qualifications. And only here has he the socially insured social security of an ever richer satisfaction of his vital needs.

Not the countries of real socialism and not the workers movement in the capitalist countries are the ones that should have to be taught by others what human rights are and how they are to be brought to realization. On the contrary: As the workers class is the first class in human history "which is about to increase the productivity of men through giving a new form to society, without exploitation, and this to an unprecedented degree,"² the demands for freedom, equality and fraternity are among the primal concerns of the proletariat. Wherever the workers class is in power, there applies what

Comrade Erich Honecker emphasized as a reality of life in our republic: "The SED brings to realization today in the GDR what the workers movement had written on its banners from the very beginning: liberty, equality, fraternity."³ When we were discussing the draft for a GDR Constitution in 1946 and the suggestion was made to supplement the image of socialism in it by the allegedly missing human rights in it, Otto Grotewohl answered: "No human rights without socialism. Socialism is the realization of human rights, and human rights -- unless they remain empty principles -- are brought to realization only to the extent that socialism becomes reality."⁴

Human Rights and Class Interests

The hopes expressed in the numerous human rights catalogs of the past and present, inspired toward a social development where one man will no longer be another one's beast of prey, where men will no longer fight against one another and will live with each other, are punctuated not only by different but actually contrary model conceptions. And that, for a very good reason. Human rights, as all rights, reflect and consummate class interests. They do not constitute a timelessly valid fundamental value.

No doubt, the declaration of the rights of men and the citizen in the French Revolution of 1789 was a great historic achievement. As a document drawn up by a people that had defeated the rotten rule of the aristocracy, it proceeds from the proposition that all men have by nature the same right to freedom. At the same time, however, this bourgeois catalog of human rights preserves, with the ownership in the means of production, the exploitation of man by man. Wherever the private ownership in the means of production is legalized, however, the class contradiction between laborer and capitalist is sanctioned. Under such conditions the majority of the population finds it impossible to make the same use as the exploiters of the freedom rights that presumably apply to both poor and rich. The laborer, even an unemployed, has the same right, to be sure, as the millionaire to open a factory or found a newspaper. As he does not have the adequate means for it, however, that right ultimately serves to disguise the social reality of capitalism. The communists, provided they have legal status, may run candidates for the bourgeois parliament, to be sure, but the backers of the bourgeois parties command the political and economic and thus, enormous means of intellectual power. As little as in bourgeois society the outcome of an election campaign decides on the true distribution of power, equally little do there the civic rights guarantee what is being reiterated in them time and again: the dignity of man and the free development of his personality.

And all the time while this is so in the countries of capitalism, the hopes placed by many in the words, promising everything, of the alleged equality of all, divinely decreed, as it were, are necessarily and increasingly becoming implacably contrary to the needs of the monopoly capitalist system of production and government. In implacable contradiction to the profit interests, especially of monopoly capital, one then finds the interests of the working people who care for a realization of the democratic substance of the bourgeois rights, for instance, the freedom to demonstrate or to engage in a particular

occupation, or who care for expanding their areas of activity, for example, through the codetermination right in the economy. These civic rights also are what makes monopoly capital feel constrained, which therefore tries to get rid of these rights in a grand style, either through emergency laws or, piece by piece, through unconstitutional administrative or court measures, as for instance through bans on practicing one's profession imposed on consistent democrats. The 1972 FRG bans on practicing one's profession, continuing the traditional line coming down from the 1852 communist trials of Cologne, Bismarck's socialist law of 1878, and Hitler's civil service law of 1933, in the end led via approximately 750,000 investigation procedures to approximately 3,000 ban verdicts⁵ the anti-human disciplinary function of which may well be placed side by side in parallel with the function of unemployment.

Paragraphs on human rights in the bourgeois constitutions may well grant each person the right to life and safety, but ordinary capitalism is an exploiter society producing through its moral disintegration, which is inherent in the system, ever worsening legal insecurity and criminality. Serious crimes have more than doubled in the United States within the last 10 years, while the quota of successful prosecution has gone down. In the FRG also the increase in violent crimes is higher than the average in the increase of all criminal acts, and the quota of successful prosecution is below 50 percent.

The equality of all before law and justice is postulated, to be sure, in the constitutions of the bourgeois states, but under the conditions of the capitalist ownership of the means of production, the courts actually carry out class justice. Their function lies not in treating all members of society alike but in protecting the interests of the proprietors, in suppressing the worker as a member of his militant class. In the FRG, for example, it is forbidden to disseminate the evidence that the Siemens Concern sent supplies into the Nazis' concentration camps. In West Berlin recently, a court injunction proscribed even the announcement of a lecture in which the resistance movement against the United States by American Indians was termed an element of the anti-racist and antimonopolist struggle.⁶

As the first instance in the history of human society, the "declaration of the rights of the working and exploited people," which Lenin had drafted, drew the requisite legal conclusions from the Marxist conception that the producers are free only when they are in the possession of the means of production. This declaration, in force since January 1918, insures the following: The seizure of power by the Soviets of the workers', soldiers' and peasants' deputies, the suppression of the resistance by the exploiters, the transfer of the soil and land and of the banks into public property, the workers' control over the economy, the equality of nations and nationalities, the freedom of religious and anti-religious propaganda, freedom of opinion and assembly with the simultaneous transfer of printing shops and their establishments into the hands of the workers and poor peasants and their free training, and, not last, the right to peace.

While the human rights articles in bourgeois constitutions outlaw slavery and bondage, but not of course capitalist exploitation, Article 2 of the GDR Constitution has ruled illegal the exploitation of man by man in any form, for

"to be exploited and to be free are two things that are mutually exclusive."⁷ The fraternity the virtuous revolutionaries of the bourgeois were dreaming about has long fallen by the wayside through the capitalist contest of competition. The freedom one person has to exploit his fellowman is a form of class domination by the minority over the majority, spelling lack of freedom for all. Truly humanizing social conditions means abolishing exploitation. Only in socialism does each individual find fully guaranteed full employment, only here does he have the right to equal wages for equal work, and equal right to education and advanced education, and an assured right to health care.

Thus it makes no sense to say that human rights are those rights to which "all people are entitled at all times and in all situations," so to speak, regardless of what bourgeois ideologists time and again proclaim in sonorous sounds.⁸ Such rights may exist in one's fancy, in social reality they do not exist. Nor is there any self-realization of human rights: the realization of human rights means class struggle. Without the struggle by the developing countries, supported by the socialist states, against the neocolonialism of the imperialist states, no right to self-determination by those nations would have been realized. Without the struggle for women's equality within the self-liberation process of the proletariat there can be no equality of the sexes.

Human rights problems stand in the center of the political and ideological class conflicts. That was so in the past, and that must also be expected of the future. In the diverse views about the human rights and their realization coming into the open in this process, economic and political contrasts are being reflected. Through them, class struggles are carried out practically. For example, the controversies between the racists and the black majority population in South Africa about human rights are not rooted in a diversely shaped image of man, but in hard and fast material class interests, and U.S., British, West German and Japanese trusts derive profits from the misery existing in Namibia. The question as to whether the hundreds of millions of unemployed on our globe have a right to work, or whether the Chilean people and the Palestinians have a right to self-determination, is not one that concerns merely the heavenly sphere of our imagination, as little as does the question whose fault it is that still today over 40 percent of the women in the world who are older than 15 years can neither read nor write. Human rights problems, however abstract the form in which they are at times formulated -- favored by the semblance of "general humanity" the constitutional texts are referring to when they talk about freedom and equality rights --, eventually always lead back to the center of the real class struggle.

Bourgeois "Human" Rights and the Class Demands of the Proletariat

The civic rights contained in the bourgeois constitutions, made up of rights which, in line with the limited and class-bound perception of their authors, every person is entitled to, by nature, equally and for all times, even though in the national and social liberation struggles of the late 18th century they did have their effect as a revolutionary program, and regardless of their claims that they be human rights, still are, in truth, class rights. Because of the private ownership of the means of production, explicitly protected by

these rights, the majority of the population finds itself in a tight situation which is economically determined, politically shored up and ideologically embellished, and which sets absolute barriers to the free and universal development of anyone.

It is not that the beautiful human rights of the enlightened bourgeoisie shaped the capitalist society but, vice versa, the ugly power relations of that society have formed the substance of any given catalog of human rights. For it is so that the social function of a constitutional article or legal paragraph cannot be made out by looking at the text per se but only from its being embedded within the legal and social order at large. And so one can, for example, understand the real meaning of the freedom of the press under capitalist conditions only when one draws the necessary conclusions from the very fact that the bourgeois dailies in the FRG, for instance, derive up to 80 percent of their revenue from advertising, which is not the least of the reasons why what these newspapers write is subordinated to the interests of capital.

The fundamental criticism, by Marx and later by Lenin, of the "trinity of property, freedom and equality"⁹ is not aimed by any means against its bourgeois-democratic content or against the struggle for a society in which the all round personality development of all its members is assured. What it was directed against, rather, was the illusion one could do away with the contradiction between man and his living conditions as they apply under capitalism merely by implementing, true to the text, the bourgeois human rights as organized, of all things, by the capitalist state.

This criticism of a human rights conception without any social or class bias has remained to this day an indispensable element of proletarian class consciousness. When social reformist politicians, today as 30 years ago, transfigure their presumably universally human fundamental values of liberty, justice and solidarity, in their most abstract form, into the theoretical foundation of their political practice, claiming that along with them no special labor rights were needed,¹⁰ they assume by that very claim the position of the bourgeoisie. The class demands raised by the proletariat that formulations of "universality" be confined to bourgeois constitutions, incidentally, is only a variant of the well known contention that there be only one "pure" democracy, not one bourgeois and one proletarian. It is a thesis which -- as Lenin has shown -- ultimately serves to slander socialist democracy.

Confrontation with the function of the bourgeois freedom and equality rights, which mystifies their true content through the mechanics of a society in which the millionaires' right to exploitation works against the right to live by the millions, is a requirement of the ideological class struggle. The struggle of the workers movement, historically and contemporarily, demonstrates that the revolutionary workers class is the most consistent contender for carrying through and expanding the democratic substance of those rights. Who else but the workers movement, we may ask, has seen to it that the right to coalition and demonstration, the equality of the sexes, the legal limits to working hours and at least some codetermination rights by the workers in the enterprises were adopted in

the basic rights paragraphs of bourgeois constitutions? And who is it in the capitalist countries actually who truly defends the democratic constitutional principles? An answer to that is provided by the programs and activities of the communist parties. And who if not the ruling bourgeoisie has always brought to realization these and the other human rights only to the extent that it was urged and pressured by the broad popular masses? The leaders in the American independence movement in the late 18th century, all of them plantation owning slave holders, even still increased the number of their slaves after they had solemnly declared on 4 July 1776 that all men alike had been endowed with liberty by their creator. And Virginia, the first of the American states to have published a human rights declaration, 90 years afterwards, during the American Civil War, still fought for maintaining slavery! Today's unconstitutional racial discrimination against the colored people in the United States thus has a tradition of centuries.

The transition from the capitalism of free competition to imperialism is paralleled on the political level by the turn from democracy to reaction. On the legal level, the denial of democracy by finance capital, as Lenin has described in detail,¹¹ is found in the trend of either a hidden or overt liquidation of legality, whichever way the concrete situation may require it. That is found especially in the freedom and equality rights, the violation of which becomes a secret maxim of government policy, among the fascists even an overt maxim. The concentration of economic power in the hands of big capital makes for the reduction of the democratic rights. In contradiction to the text of the constitution, communists and consistent democrats are discriminated against and put under pressure by government bureaucracy despotism and public snooping after subversion. Nowhere else is the gap as wide between what is printed about the freedom rights and what is done toward bringing them toward realization as in contemporary capitalism.

Human Right of the Individual--Element in the Self-determination of the People

Experiences of every victorious proletarian revolution and of real socialism have demonstrated that the freedom of personality, the personality development of the individual, decisively depends on the extent to which each will consciously relate his abilities and skills to overall social development, to the process of socialization. Human rights, properly understood, rather than rights enjoyed by an isolated individual in opposition to society, are the rights of fellow men. They regulate and guarantee the creative development of the individual within society. That presupposes, of course, that the working class holds the political power. It is the indispensable precondition for the socialization of the means of production and, based on that also, for the socialization and democratization process of political power itself. For only where the individual has the right to participate in government and government decisions, he will find, as it were, like everyone else, objective conditions for his unbroken personality development. The human right of the individual is an element in the self-determination of the people.

If thus in the proletarian revolution the minority, the former exploiters, loses the freedom it has exercised thus far to suppress the majority, so that the majority may enforce its freedom, this then is not a violation, but a realization, of human rights. In the developing countries too one finds that the development toward freedom by the formerly colonized decisively depends on whether or not the freedom of the colonizers is done away with and the natural resources are appropriated by those who also are engaged in production.

If the deeper sense of human rights consists of seeing to it that everyone may freely develop what is natural to him, and not of one enriching himself at the expense of others, then this of course calls for the break with a conception of society according to which the individuals' self-determination rights are in each other's way and the self-determination right of man, once and for all, contradicts the self-determination right of society.¹² When the specific capitalist antagonisms are reinterpreted into eternal human antagonisms, then the civic rights are interpreted individualistically: Superficially, they will protect the isolated individual from coercion now done away with, but they actually serve a freedom that is all too free on the part of those who profit from the lack of freedom of their fellow men. They grant each person, whoever he may be, the satisfaction of his needs, provided he has enough money. Asocial freedom rights of the rich, merely dressed up through such designs as human rights, preserve the capitalist society's structure weighing power against paralysis. Every extra share of democracy and equality means a bit less in freedom for the beneficiaries of such society. Even though the concentration process in the accumulation of wealth is continuing in the FRG -- some 3 percent of the FRG citizens owns more than all the rest of 97 percent -- the claim is being made, time and again, that the striving for equality threatens to become excessive and jeopardizes freedom. The question only is: whose freedom?¹³

Pitting against the self-determination right of the people some individual "human" right amounts to a fetter of freedom and serves, not progress, but reaction. Among the benefits of both human rights conventions ratified 11 years ago by the United Nations and now in effect for the signatory states is that, as a reciprocally binding stipulation, always right at the beginning the self-determination right of the peoples has been set down -- requested by the Soviet Union, incidentally -- as human right number one. As furthermore the private ownership in the means of production no longer was included among the human rights in these conventions, one finds at least as much as a starting point for breaking with the entire traditional human rights conception. For it, essentially, consisted in granting the individual, based on his economic power, some sort of right to free hunting-grounds. And does not the freedom to information, under the conditions of the ruling monopoly capital, come down to the very same thing? Does not the manipulation monopoly of the ruling class by and large prevent the formation of a public opinion that adequately reflects social reality or does it not push such public opinion toward a peripheral marginal foothold? After all, in the FRG one single newspaper concern produces 90 percent of the total edition on sale of all dailies other than regional ones. Does not, vice versa, true freedom of information presuppose a social order in which the public opinion media enjoy democratic legitimacy due to their being public property and being subject to public supervision?¹⁴

Human Rights and Peaceful Coexistence

Through the struggle by the broad popular masses and all progressive forces, human rights now have also become subject of international treaties and a field in which the peaceful coexistence policy applies. This has no doubt enhanced the opportunities for human rights to be brought to realization, yet it also has increased the illusions about what can be achieved by human rights. And, furthermore, all those have entered the debate who would love to abuse the human rights as a tool of cold war policy.

The UN human rights requirement, this follows from articles 1 and 55 of the UN Charter, is derived from its peace-insuring function and rests on the recognition of each nation's inviolable self-determination right as the fundamental human right.¹⁵ The same alinement of peace safeguards, national self-determination and human rights also is contained in the Final Act of Helsinki of 1975.¹⁶

Thus it is worth clarifying, especially with regard to the UN's international function in assuring a policy of peaceful coexistence, that no human rights exist, having their origin in international law, as it were, neutral and unrelated to social systems, so to speak. As international law is inter-state law, not a law above the states, and the United Nations is not a state above the states, but an inter-state organization, there can then be no human rights issued and guaranteed by the United Nations. Human rights can, however, well be the subject of interstate agreements, and in that regard the United Nations has developed a noteworthy initiative, in part even played an outstanding role. And so the UN General Assembly has ratified a whole number of human rights conventions by further developing the 1948 human rights declaration which it adopted in the sense of a "shared ideal," that is, a morally binding declaration of intent: in one and the same year the convention on the prevention of and punishment for genocide, the convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination of 1965, the two already mentioned conventions of 1966 on civil and political rights and on economic, social and cultural rights, the convention on the non-applicability of any statute of limitations to war crimes and crimes against humanity, of 1968, and the convention on fighting against, and punishing, the crime of apartheid, of 1974.¹⁷

These conventions constitute an excellent contribution, in line with international law, to bringing human rights to realization all over the world. The authority of the international conventions mentioned, and of all others, in the various states depends, naturally, on whether or not those state have ratified them.

In its concluding document, the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers Parties has called for ratifying, and strictly adhering to, the human rights pacts worked out by the United Nations because they were in the interest of the struggle by the working class and all working people for real social and political rights.¹⁸ The GDR, as one knows, has ratified the conventions referred to because, in line with what its Constitution demands (article 4 and 19), they assure all citizens of the exercise of their rights.

The United States on the other hand -- whose ruling class loves to put on airs as the guardian of freedom and democracy -- has not ratified even one of the important human rights conventions referred to until this day. Instead, the U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee had a special report printed with the provocative title "Human Rights in the World Community--A Call for U.S.-Leadership."¹⁹ This officially raised worldwide U.S. leadership claim contradicts the self-determination right of all other nations. But the nations' self-determination right is not up for grabs. It is a fundamental principle of the democratic international law of the present and thus a binding yardstick of universal validity for all interstate relations of law. The right of all nations to decide themselves on their political economic and cultural development without intervention from outside, the nations' right to peace, also implies the obligation by the states to refrain from the threat and use of force in interstate relations and to contribute to worldwide disarmament as proposed time and time again by the Soviet Union.

If one denies the interconnection between the safeguarding of peace, the self-determination right of the nations (including their sovereign right to securing their national borders) and the human rights, human rights may be abused as instruments of intervention in violation of international law. That was done in not too distant a past by the OAS in its attitude toward Cuba,²⁰ and that also was tried by West German revanchists when they invented their so-called "human right to one's homeland," by which they meant to reverse the outcome of World War II. In most recent days, the parties represented in the Bonn parliament have virtually been competing with each other in trying to reorchestrate the human rights so as to turn them into an area of intervention against the GDR.²¹ Although in the FRG almost a million unemployed are deprived of their basic human right to work and the illegal bans on practicing one's profession do away not only with the free choice of a job but also, in violation of the Basic Law (articles 4, 5, and 12), basically, with the freedom of belief and opinion, and though the foreign workers, and the women and young people, by no means enjoy equal rights in industry, the economy and the society, in debating the human rights report of the FRG government, the FRG parliament did not even refer to, let alone analyze, a single one of the abundant West German human rights problems. Instead, the spokesmen of the parliamentary parties have, in their anticommunist manner, competed with each other in the senseless effort at putting their Eastern neighbor state "in the prisoner's dock." In the GDR a social order is developing in which every citizen, free of exploitation, suppression, economic dependency and humiliation, has equal rights and has the possibilities to develop his abilities and the freedom of his personality which is hospitable to the respect for and protection of the dignity and freedom of man. It is all too easy to understand that the gentlemen on the other side of the barricades of the class struggle deplore such a development. The GDR, however, is not under FRG jurisdiction, though quite a few over there would still love to see it that way. Yet this is the way in which human rights are discredited and move into the twilight of anti-detente policy. The other side of the coin is that the FRG government, since it received voting rights in the UN organizations, has preferred to withhold its agreement from the most important human rights resolutions of the UN General Assembly.

Along with the attempts at turning the human rights into a package of norms, neutral as to their systems and of supra-national provenance, and the United Nations, into a supra-national tool for intervention into the sovereign exercise of the nations' right to self-determination, there are also quite persistent efforts going on by bourgeois ideologists that are calling for attention, in as much as they are denigrating the reputation and significance of the economic and cultural human rights as they have been recognized from the very beginning by the United Nations.

There is something quite true about the critical remark by bourgeois ideologists that the "Christian-liberal West" was forced by pressure from the Left to recognize social basic rights.²² For without the pressure from the organized labor movement, no capitalist country would have included economic and cultural civic rights in its constitution. And without the example and the active efforts of the socialist countries, the right to work and the right to an adequate standard of living would have remained as remote from the UN declarations and conventions as the right to education and culture. The truth is likely to be that only he who profits from the hunger and unemployment of others can possibly deprecate the right to a material mode of existence, created through one's own work, that comes up to the standards of human dignity. The Irish proletarian poet Sean O'Casey called the right to work "the narrow gate through which alone the workers can find their path into the earthly paradise."²³ And he is right, of course. For at the end of that path stands the right to the appropriation of the means of production by the associated workers class. So one can well understand that the ideological representatives of the bourgeoisie, who would just love to pass unemployment off as a personal misfortune of the one hit by it, or as the proper recompense for his incapability, but surely not see it as the inevitable consequence of the capitalist social system, are bemoaning the "ruination" of the UN human rights resolutions through the inclusion of social rights.²⁴

Human rights are rooted neither in an individual conscience nor in the formulas of religious faith.²⁵ Marxism, though incompetent observers keep insinuating that it is, ab ovo, hostile to basic rights,²⁶ has proven scientifically, quite on the contrary, that the all round development of the abilities of all members of society, rather than being utopia, or a mere ideal, is an objectively conditioned requirement of social progress. As it is principally the proletariat which is interested in this significant further step forward within the process of transition from capitalism to socialism, human rights demands are rooted in the material class interests of the proletariat.

The practical application of human rights in the countries of real socialism has shown freedom and equality rights to be an indispensable element of social development. They focus on massive personality development and on man's control over himself and over nature, which comes from the comprehension of necessity. They guarantee space for creative action in one's own personal responsibility, which gives every citizen a legal claim to their being realized.²⁷ And they establish criteria for legislation, jurisdiction and administration, and for industrial and economic activities. But they themselves require further

development in accordance with the exigencies of social progress.²⁸ Human rights never are brought to realization for once and for all. We all are involved in the process of their realization, mainly through the daily struggle for raising the productivity of the individual as well as of society.

FOOTNOTES

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4. Otto Grotewohl, "Deutsche Verfassungsplaene" (German Constitutional Plans), Publishing house of J. H. W. Dietz Nachfolger, Berlin, 1947, pp 73-74.
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6. The verdicts are printed in DEMOKRATIE UND RECHT, Cologne, No 1, 1976, p 75 and No 2, 1976, p 195.
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13. G. Dietze, "Bedeutungswandel der Menschenrechte" (Human Rights and Their Changes in Meaning), Karlsruhe, 1972, p 51.
14. Cf. the GDR Report to the United Nations on the Implementation of the Freedom of Information in UN-Doc/E/CN 4/1214/Add 3.
15. Cf. Bernhardt Graefrath in "Voelkerrecht, Lehrbuch" (International Law Textbook), Part I, GDR State publishing house, Berlin, 1973, pp 325 ff.
16. Reprinted in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 2/3 August 1975 and "Fuer Entspannung und dauerhaften Frieden in Europa, Dokumente" (For Relaxation and Permanent Peace in Europe--Documents), GDR State publishing house, Berlin, 1976, pp 129 ff.
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EAST GERMANY

TRADE UNIONS TO STRESS CULTURAL ADVANCEMENT OF WORKERS

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[Article by Dr Harald Buehl, presidium member and national executive secretary of Free German Labor Union Federation (FDGB): "The Intellectual-Cultural Life in the Work Collectives"]

[Text] At the Ninth FDGB Congress, scheduled for May 1977, the trade unions will give an accounting on how they have been contributing, as schools of socialism and as trustees of the interests of the working people, to the elevation of the material and cultural standard of living. The new phase of the continued shaping of the developed socialist society that was introduced by the Ninth SED Congress opens a wide field of activities for the trade unions. Through their cultural and educational work, the trade unions are helping in the further molding of the socialist awareness and way of life.

In preparation of the Ninth FDGB Congress, the members of the FDGB in over 270,000 trade union groups late last year elected their union shop steward, cultural spokesman, industrial safety and social spokesman and a sports organizer. By far the great majority of these election meetings exhibited the creative initiatives of the workers, salaried employees and members of the intelligentsia, who prepared those elections by plan fulfillments and told how they intended to live up to the high demands and worthwhile objectives of the Ninth SED Congress.

What with 17 colleagues of the "Ninth Party Congress" trade union group in the "Werra" VEB potash enterprise being certified for operating the newly introduced modern large-scale equipment, two experienced miners obtaining their diploma as mining engineers through taking advanced technical courses, and lectures being scheduled for 1977, just as last year, on Marxist-Leninist education and on acquiring scientific-technical knowledge and other projects in the cultural and sports fields under the culture and education plan, it all testifies to the greater appreciation for the synthesis of economics, politics and culture which is most clearly expressed in the desire to "work, study and live socialistically."

That movement has in recent years further developed, qualitatively as quantitatively. Most of the work collectives that are competing for the title "Collective of Socialist Work" come to understand better all the time that creative work and personality formation depend on each other. The "work, study and live socialistically" movement is of decisive importance to the all round fulfillment of the economic tasks, the further molding of socialist modes of thought and conduct and thus, to the shaping of socialist personality characteristics.

From their awareness of the unity of economic and social policy and of the connection between labor productivity and the cultural level, more and more trade union groups are drawing the conclusion that they must improve their education, knowledge and abilities and be qualified for creatively changing and intensifying their production. In that sense more and more trade union groups are organizing their intellectual-cultural life, so as to lead a rich life in terms of ideas too. There is no doubt among the collectives and their leaders that great culture also bears material and cultural, economic and personality-forming fruits. Diversified and solid culture encourages self-awareness, a creative attitude toward life and well-being, the preconditions for happy living and successful operations in production.

In the "work, study and live socialistically" movement, being also a creative working class initiative for shaping the socialist way of life, new demands have been placed on the qualifications of foremen, departmental chiefs, plant directors and trade union executives. Stereotype demarcation lines between economic and cultural matters, between working time and leisure, or one-sided orientations, could be further overcome through the desire for socialist work, study and life.

Experienced leaders know socialist competition is the chief method of contest among the work collectives for the highest and best results in their labor and, at the same time, an effective personality-forming factor that encourages the willingness for performance, the innovator movement, and helpfulness on the part of the workers, employees and members of the intelligentsia. They know the experience of art and its discussion in the collective have a deep impact on the formation of socialist ethics and a creative attitude toward life. Pleasure in a work of art enlivens the imagination, and a well organized outing by the brigade does something for the collective consciousness.

That goes together with further repressing all routinized and formalized competition management, pertaining above all to how results are evaluated, in that intellectual-cultural results are "computed" the same way as the economic ones. While the latter can indeed be computed accurately, by the criteria of plan fulfillment and overfulfillment, the lowering of costs, a higher grade of product or material saving, the same simply is not possible with cultural results and experiences and with sport activities. The development of the collective must be evaluated by the collective itself and by the competent management in toto. Giving out points cannot achieve it.

While the results achieved by the "work, study and live socialistically" movement have on the whole been altogether outstanding, one yet must not ignore that here discriminating evaluations are certainly necessary too. There are many large-scale enterprises where all, or almost all, work collectives struggling for the title "Collective of Socialist Work" have in fact contested for that title several times already. But then there are also enterprises, especially smaller ones, where only a small part of the working people is involved in this movement. And then there are differences in the conditions in the various areas of the economy, for instance on the construction sites, in transportation, commerce or health.

The Work Collective -- The Most Important Domain for Personality Development

The work collectives in the socialist enterprise and their social organization, the trade union groups, are becoming more and more effective molders of socialist personalities. They are leading the competition for the fulfillment of the economic plans, organize their work culture and their intellectual-cultural life and foster in many ways the knowledge, skills, awareness, inventiveness and creativity of their members. Their collectivity forms through the immediate working task but it goes far beyond it. In the socialist work collective, all aspects of public life are subject to discussion or the exchange of opinions and experiences and, above all, to collective consultation and shared responsibility.

Skill in science and technology and innovator suggestions, ideological problems, the appropriation of cultural and artistic values, the culture and education of the young generation, the care for the well-being of the veterans of labor, fellowship, in short, all interests and inclinations, needs and facilities of the members of the collective find room for application here.

The work collectives and their trade union groups are making a decisive contribution to the full development of the social relations and the physical and intellectual abilities of the working people.

A cultured attitude within the work collective, which has a considerable influence on the well-being, energy and joy of life of the working people, has a high place value here. Not only the surveys by sociologists and industrial psychologists, the experiences themselves in almost all work collectives are pointing out that when there are good interhuman relations, then there will grow open-mindedness and the readiness to be involved in improving the labor productivity, making and applying innovator suggestions, improving labor organization, developing means for rationalization and saving materials.

Disturbances in the relations in the work collective, on the other hand, annoyance, dissatisfaction and unresolved conflicts, and only sporadic and non-existent information can block the work enthusiasm and thus reduce the labor productivity. It is not odd at all to assume direct effects between a rising sick-leave curve, work collective or enterprise fluctuations and the working climate. The well-being of the working people, their joy at work and their production achievements as their creativity mainly call for the readiness and will of the managers to listen with pedagogic and psychological tact to recommendations and suggestions.

What is needed is an atmosphere of trust and mutual aid, of comradely cooperation and the feeling of belonging together in overcoming difficulties and solving problems. That also includes appreciation shown for achievement and an open, honest and objective settlement of critical situations that may arise in any work collective. The many minor matters in the labor process and in the interhuman relations must be settled in the socialist way, so that every individual can sense that at his place of work too everything is done for the good of the people.

Where workers spend the most productive and creative part of their lives, where knowledge, abilities and facilities, a will for achievement, labor discipline, creative thought and action are expected of them, where shared responsibility, thought and decisions is the everyday standard -- there the culture of socialist labor is becoming ever more important.

The further elevation of the working people's cultural standard of living can therefore not be confined to the opportunities provided by leisure. It rather is necessary to find in the labor process and the work collectives the point of departure for developing socialist culture and to make use of scientific-technical progress for developing socialist work culture in its complexity.

While advances have been made in the field of work culture -- proven, for example, by having organized 350,000 jobs by means of scientific labor organization and by the further reduction of job-related accidents -- what has been achieved is not yet enough. Frequently when machines or installations are designed, not the same attention is given to the standards of labor safety and labor hygiene as to the technical performance parameters. Industrial science data should be used more in the planning and projecting of intensification and rationalization projects in order further to improve the material working conditions as much as the substantive aspects of labor.

Our Reliable Compass: The Marxist-Leninist World-Outlook

The election meetings in the trade union groups testified greatly to the improved skills in the creative appropriation and application of Marxist-Leninist insights. By concrete examples, the spokesmen in their status reports produced evidence for the increased political-ideological maturity of the members and collectives. This became clear in the balance sheet on the successful implementation of the Eighth and Ninth Party Congress decisions. Many trade union spokesmen could demonstrate that social advances in the GDR were perceptibly and inseparably linked with the development of their own collectives.

The functionaries and class-conscious members in the trade union groups are exercising a great influence on ideological work. Their party-minded stance helps turn the scientific working class world-outlook into the foundation for what work collectives think and do everywhere.

More than 100,000 "schools of socialist work" have developed after the Eighth FDGB Congress into an important cultural factor. Approximately 2 million trade union members, above all non-SED workers and employees, are getting basic knowledge in Marxism-Leninism there, closely linked with the practical affairs they themselves experience and organize, with their own experiences of the example of how the collective solves political and economic tasks. The discussion leaders, party and trade union functionaries, foremen, engineers, departmental chiefs and other cadre in economic management are always getting better in interpreting the practical social affairs of the enterprise in terms of their inevitabilities and interconnections.

The work collectives' educational resources are effectively complemented by "Urania" activities, based on agreements with the trade union executive. The enterprises sponsor annually approximately 280,000 events for providing new social science and natural science knowledge, and also the Chamber of Technology is efficiently participating in it.

In these activities that provide all that knowledge the point always is to raise the political-ideological level. That requires that in the "schools of socialist work" as well as in every lecture great attention has to be given to the quality of statements and argumentations, to enhancing the information and elaborating the essence of phenomena, for not so infrequently the theoretical penetration of a subject is still getting inadequate attention.

Socialist Personalities -- Masters in Their Fields

Many work collective initiatives aim at exploiting creative abilities for the good of the individual as well as society. An average of M 3.5 billion in economic benefits is annually being produced by the innovators who are making their experiences, knowledge and skills available to society.

What the trade unions are striving for and promoting in socialist competition and in developing the intellectual-cultural life is the formation of a creative attitude and of the kind of facilities that would support scientific-technical progress and the innovator movement. Prerequisite to it are intellectual activity, a sense of putting various matters together and, above all, knowledge and skill.

Thanks to our party's smoothly flowing cultural policy, the cultural level of the working class and of all working people is going up constantly. Continuing studies have a firm place in the work collectives. Almost 50 percent of the working people in socialist industry has already attended high school. The proportion of advanced and technical school cadre to the total number of persons working in the socialist economy rose from 6.7 percent in 1962 to 14.1 percent in 1975, that of the specialized workers and master workmen, from 33.7 percent to 53 percent, whereas the proportion of persons getting on-the-job training and of unskilled labor diminished from 59.6 to 32.9 percent.

This higher cultural level is a reflection of the real humanism of our society. But it does not only prove everyone has the opportunity to develop his gifts and abilities, it also shows the need for conformity between production funds and the dynamics of economic development and the need for linking learning ever more closely with the labor tasks, with socialist intensification and scientific-technical progress.

Many work collectives have realized that already. After all, of the 1.2 million working people who gained their credentials last year, the vast majority focused on higher achievements in production.

Characteristic of the work collectives also is the growing sense of responsibility for the young generation getting into the labor process. Sponsorships between work collectives and grades or classes in school, for example, are of a better quality if through them influence is exercised on selecting occupations that accord with economic exigencies. We will continue improving polytechnical instruction in the enterprise in such a way that it fosters love for one's work and occupation and helps develop characteristics that are most important for the socialist specialized worker.

That can, much like it, also be seen in the vocational training given to more than 500,000 apprentices. The work collectives, their specialized instructors and socialist competition are involved in turning vocational training into a decisive segment in the development of the apprentices' awareness.

Culture and Art Enrich Our Lives

A great variety of encounters with art takes place in the work collectives. They arouse needs for deep experiences in art that will mold the sense of personality and community, and the ideological and esthetic demands made on literature and art also are on the increase.

That is shown, for example, by the working people's eagerness to read. What seems to us important here is not only the constantly increasing number of readers in the trade union and public libraries, or that there is more talk about new publications, but mainly the greater appreciation for, and demands made on, literature. That is true of belles lettres as well as of philosophic-ideological works, and of technical and reference materials. Right now we are confronted with the task of meeting this growing need for reading materials the working people have developed also by putting new books and books that are much in demand into the libraries in more copies and that we raise the totals of accessions altogether.

The relationship between the working people and theater arts has become much more intimate in recent years, thanks to the support by the trade unions. The festive quality of theater experiences and the opportunity for exchanging impressions about them are important motivating aspects. That is also helped by trade union theater festivals arranged between the theaters and the socialist enterprises and organized by the trade unions. The work collectives also have a great share in the ever larger number of persons visiting museums, galleries and exhibitions.

In stressing the increase in communal cultural-artistic interests in the work collectives, we by no means intend to ignore the individual interests in art. This is not a matter of placing individual art experience in contrast with collective art experience but a matter of the ideological-esthetic content of such experience. And our investigations unequivocally demonstrate impulses toward engaging in art, not only in the community of the collectives but also in the individual sphere, within the family or the circle of friends, arise from the political-ideological quality of relations within the collective. Reading an important book, seeing an interesting movie, attending one's first concert -- the stimuli for doing so often come out of the work collectives. Here we can observe everywhere how the norms for socialist conduct shown in eager contest also affect the working people's thoughts, feelings and actions outside their jobs, with ensuing repercussions in the work collective as well as the family.

The work collective furthermore is an important public forum for art discussions. Becoming ever more expert in the discussion of works of art, the working people develop their party-minded and critical discernment and their taste in matters of art. And with their understanding of art growing, they also become increasingly more certain in formulating their demands for the level on which socialist art should be. Of special importance here is the discussion of works of art proposed for the "FDGB art award."

Thousands of working people and whole work collectives come out with substantiated proposals for works of art of all types and genres every year. Debate is sparked primarily around those works of art that depict personalities of the working class and supply insights into the life of the class.

To a large extent, the working class fulfills its social mission in art by various forms of direct relations between the work collectives and the artists. Many temporary contacts occur along with permanent partnership relations. That pertains above all to art discussions taking place in the lounges of theaters, movies and exhibitions and to the cooperation between popular and professional artists.

The work collective, finally, also becomes a domain for engaging in its own art production. Hundreds of thousands of artistically active working people are stimulated by the intellectual-cultural life in their trade union groups.

On the basis of executive agreements between the FDGB National Executive presidium and that of the Visual Artists Association, concluded in April 1975, the partnership relations between enterprises, work collectives and members of the Visual Artists Association have deepened. Long-term residencies for studying were made possible, for example, and commissions were given out, the best results of which are intended to be loaned to the Eighth GDR Art Exhibit.

Visual artists are involved in the esthetic designs for the work environment, in shaping the socialist work culture, in forming facilities of the FDGB vacation service, and they are taking more of a lead in the circles engaged in popular visual art production. Collectively working visual artists were,

to mention some of the many places, drawn, on a long-term basis, into complex investment projects at the VEB Buna Chemical Plant Combine, the Seebach enterprise at the VEB Ruhle Clock and Machine Combine, and into rationalization projects at the VEB Rudolf Harlass Foundry in Karl-Marx-Stadt and the VEB Panther Shoe Factory in Ehrenfriedersdorf.

Similar projects were started, and partly even completed, at the FDGB vacation centers in Oberwiesenthal, Oberhof and at the Baltic coast.

For more and more working people are the work collectives and trade union groups becoming the ideological, artistic and practical stimulus for an active attitude toward culture and art. To develop this atmosphere and the demands generated in all industrial trade union groups is a main objective of our work. We are not oblivious to the fact that many working people are still prevented from taking part in cultural life, and the reasons for that do not lie in lack of interest but in certain other conditions: Lack of opportunities, or small variety in opportunities, being tired and exhausted after work, poor transportation conditions and household burdens are the most important factors. What we sometimes also still run into are formal considerations, when for reasons of "accountability" a full membership participation in an event is rated higher than the experience per se.

Popular Artists as Chroniclers of Our Times

Popular art in the enterprises and institutions has come along well in two regards. Economic-cultural performance comparisons and enterprise festivals have encouraged innumerable talents to go public with their achievements. This has given a broad scope to popular art. The 16th GDR Workers Festival demonstrated how much greater the accomplishments of the so-called top groups have become. They have reached a high artistic level through promotional contracts and the cooperation with professional artists. Convincing evidence for that has come from the Workers Theater Week in Goerlitz, the traditional cabaret programs of the best enterprise groups, the contest among literary workers titled "A Good Word for a Good Deed," and the GDR's popular art contributions to international exhibitions and festivals.

Based on the fine development of popular art in its whole breadth and peak condition, the GDR Workers Festival could be turned even more into a performance exhibit of the creative cultural capabilities of the workers class, a popular festival of socialist culture and art and a forum for vivid exchange of experience. Through a number of performance comparisons, contests and workshop productions, the best and most exemplary popular art accomplishments were chosen, experience was conveyed and criteria were set.

Regularly recurring events sponsored by the enterprises like the Bitterfeld Amateur Film Festival or the Riesa Foto Days, open to all interested parties, are standing up well as workshops in optimizing all participants' experiences.

Promoting the production of such works by popular artists in which we can be impressed by the appearance of socialist worker personalities and by the intellectual wealth and the beauty of life under socialism is a matter of concern to all trade union executives and executive boards. Popular artists must become ever more capable, as chroniclers of their times, of lending artistic expression to the glory and heroism of socialist worker personalities, the progress of life and the safety found in the world of socialism. This aspiration combines with the revolutionary cultural traditions of the workers movement and the careful cultivation and appropriation of the humanist and revolutionary cultural achievements of the past.

Almost all trade union groups seek to combine sensibly fellowship, active recreation, education and culture. That is reflected by the increasing number of excursions, group travel by work collectives with the families included, which provide at once entertainment, sports activities and the appropriation of cultural values. These tours are regarded by many trade union groups as the climax in the life of the collectives because they facilitate various communal experiences and at the same time serve their education, entertainment and the deepening of interhuman relations. In the future it will be up to the trade union executives to meet the growing needs for such tours and, together with state management, to create the necessary prerequisites and assist in the organizational preparations.

The Tasks of the Trade Unions for the Development of Intellectual-Cultural Life.

At the Ninth FDGB Congress, scheduled for May 1977, the trade unions will give an accounting on how they have been contributing, as schools of socialism and as trustees of the interests of the working people, to the elevation of the material and cultural standard of living. The new phase of the continued shaping of the developed socialist society that was introduced by the Ninth SED Congress opens a wide field of activities for the trade unions. The dedicated work of more than 2 million volunteer functionaries significantly helps us successfully advance on the path charted by the Party Congress for the good of the working people.

Through their cultural and educational work the trade unions contribute to the further molding of the socialist awareness and way of life in that they help in constantly elevating the cultural standard of living in conformity with the material and in satisfying on a high level the needs of the working class and all working people for culture, education, meaningful leisure activities and striking esthetic-artistic experiences. That presupposes that each industrial trade union executive knows the fundamental intellectual-cultural needs of the colleagues, male and female, analyzes the developmental trends and diversities in these needs and, in cooperation with state management, other social organizations and local cultural institutions, has a target-directed cultural offer to make.

The importance of the cultural and education plans in the trade union groups is not being questioned today. They have proven themselves on behalf of a

more systematic development of intellectual-cultural life in the work collectives. They have been found useful wherever they proceed from the concrete needs of the collective and contain realistic goals. Early in the game, an enterprise or territory must come out with a "cultural offer" from which the appropriate "Urania" lectures, educational measures, art events and so forth can be selected. That is important so that the level of the plans can be raised together with the steadily increasing needs and expectations.

More important and much more complicated of course is for an executive to properly assess the actual intellectual-cultural life in the work collectives. For that is significantly more comprehensive and differentiated than the projects put together under a culture and education plan. Many brigade diaries reveal significantly more about developmental problems in the collectives. The trade union groups are using that document, as a chronicle for the formation of collectivity and a mirror for social activities, in developing the socialist way of life. The brigade diary is found useful to political work wherever trade union executives exploit it regularly and use it as a source for important information about the development of awareness in a collective and react to the references and recommendations contained in it. All industrial trade union executives should therefore make arrangements to have the writers of diaries meet with each other for the exchange of their experiences. They should also consider using the diaries for improving the effectiveness of political work in consultations and exhibitions on the occasions of enterprise festivals.

Wherever trade union executives succeeded in insuring the creative participation by the work collectives and in translating their ideas and suggestions into everyday life, enterprise festivals have become a stimulating popular celebration of socialist culture open to all talents and interests of socialist personalities.

Special care has to be given to shift work collectives which, through great personal dedication, insure the fulfillment of our demanding plans. Talks and exchange of experience with shift workers have indicated that their cultural needs in no way differ from those of the other working people. The point will be, however, to meet the particular circumstances of these colleagues by providing shift worker privileges, special time periods set aside for events or openings and preferential tickets for cultural events on the weekends. All trade union executives have an equal share in the responsibility that will make sure that the shift workers' cultural life will not lag behind that which is developing in the society at large.

After more than 2 million trade union group functionaries have now been elected, or confirmed in their functions, the point will be to see to it, through training, exchange of experience and practical aid, principally within the trade union groups, that these colleagues, men and women, will successfully meet their task as functionaries of our class organization, and that the cultural and educational work in the trade unions will help the working people in leading a richer life in terms of ideas.

EAST GERMANY

AIMS OF SOCIALIST NATIONAL CULTURE DEFINED

West German Commentary

Bonn-Bad Godesberg IWE-TAGESDIENST in German 8 Feb 77 "iwe-kultur" supplement pp 1-2

[Report from Berlin: "SED Justifies Ideological Pressure on Authors-- Obvious Efforts by Writers Union for Normalization". A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article discussed below follows this commentary]

[Text] In the party journal EINHEIT, the East Berlin art ideologist Prof Hans Koch seeks to justify the increased ideological pressure the SED has been putting on GDR writers. He calls for rigorous ideological struggle "to overcome views, attitudes and characteristics that are alien to the nature of socialism, and against which to fight the party program and statute have been demanding." He insists that a true presentation of various contradictory social and personal experiences presupposed a thorough knowledge of socialist reality, which demanded of the authors "of necessity a high level of political and philosophic thought, a personal attitude that is willing to testify to, and to bolster against any attacks, the historic and humanist superiority of socialism." To be sure, says Koch, who already in the '50's asserted himself as an ideological drill master for GDR intellectuals, the authors might also describe "all that is worth denouncing in the social and personal life under the socialist society." That could and should, however not obviate the need "to make visible in full splendor all the good and beautiful in our time and our world of socialism." With his EINHEIT article, Koch, as he put it, wanted to mark "corner stones for a far-reaching ideological program for the further development of socialist culture and art." It would imply "important commitments to consistent, party-minded, ideologically and esthetically incorruptible public literary and art criticism."

In contrast, the GDR's Writers Association is evidently seeking a normalization and soothing of literary life. Not a word is being said in the most recent issue of the Association's journal NEUE DEUTSCHE LITERATUR about the "Biermann Case." Advocates as well as critics of his expatriation are coming out with contributions in this issue. A play by Biermann's adversary Peter Hacks, "Ein Gesprach im Hause Stein" (A Discussion in the House of Stein) is published in a conspicuous feature position. But also Helga Schuetz, a cosigner of the

open letter, backing Biermann, to the GDR Council of Ministers, has a new story in it. Sarah Kirsch, expelled from the SED for that reason, introduces a new young lyrical poet. Finally, great appreciation is bestowed on Christa Wolf's new book, "Kindheitsmuster" (Model of Childhood). The point is made that it is a "book of humanism" and the "psychogram of an epoch," a work "imbued with its writer's sense of responsibility to her world and to the future."

Cultural Scholar's Article

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 2, Feb 77 signed to press 11 Jan 77
pp 192-202

[Article by Prof Dr Hans Koch, SED Central Committee candidate; director, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Culture and Art Studies at SED Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences: "Culture and Main Task--On the Development of the Socialist National Culture"]

[Text] Solving the tasks in cultural policy as assigned by the Ninth SED Congress requires initiating a multilayered process of deliberately structured interrelations and reciprocal effects among the objectively determined political, economic, social, ideological and other great tasks for shaping the developed socialist society and for the further development of socialist culture, wherein also the discrete profiles, structures, functions and values of a socialist culture will be given a full shape with their advances proceeding on the foundations of real socialism.

The SED program says: "The shaping of the developed socialist society is a historic process of profound political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes."¹ By studying the party program, the Central Committee report to the Ninth Party Congress and other documents, one discovers a great wealth of theoretical thought, particularly with respect to the criteria and essential features of the developed socialist society. Reading them from that vantage point, one is impressed by the materials about how much the substance and direction of cultural changes are affected by the desire to develop systematically, and on a high level, all the advantages and impulses, all the aspects and areas of public life.

Culture and Strategic Goal

The Party Congress has staked out wide fields for tasks in cultural policy that absolutely must be cultivated -- in theory and practice -- for the purpose of attaining the strategic goals of our entire social policy. Cultural activities are indispensable so that all characteristic features and criteria can take full shape and inevitable changes are made through which, in the continuing shaping of the developed socialist society, basic preconditions are created for the gradual transition to communism.

That requires initiating a multilayered process of deliberately structured interrelations and reciprocal effects among the objectively determined political, economic, social, ideological, and other great tasks for shaping the developed socialist society and for the further development of socialist culture, wherein also the discrete profiles, structures, functions and values of a socialist culture will be given a full shape with their advances proceeding on the foundations of real socialism. That applies to all fundamental processes in our society. It applies, for example, to making production relations more perfect, as relations of comradely cooperation and mutual assistance among the working people. It applies to strengthening the role of the working class as the leading social force and to promoting the further rapprochement among all classes and strata toward their participation in gradually overcoming the essential differences between town and countryside. The linkage of cultural progress with such social processes is not an external, pragmatic one. It is a function of the law that transcends it of "creating all conditions under which the social relations and the physical and intellectual abilities of men can fully develop and of opening up all possibilities for them to be able to give a rich substantive and cultured meaning to their lives, in that the working people's thoughts and deeds are molded by the socialist working class ideology, the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook."²

With respect to cultural policy, the Party Congress documents and materials call attention mainly to the following:

The priority lies in the focus on the solution of the main task and on an important cultural contribution to all main conditions for its implementation, principally defined in the inseparable unity between economic and social policy.

The formation of the socialist way of life is an important objective and condition for all social forward movement. It forms a key for the all round development of personality within society. "Without an all round development of socialist culture and its firm rooting in the broad popular masses there is no socialist way of life,"³ as Comrade Erich Honecker has emphasized.

With the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, the values of socialism are progressively being enriched and deepened, that is, those material and intellectual goods, real humanistic characteristics of social conditions and relations, qualities in personal conduct and so forth, that conform to the character of socialism and are of fundamental importance to the qualitative sides in the lives of men, to their desire for a meaningful, substantive and beautiful life in society. Socialist culture goes a long way toward supporting and structuring this objectively determined substance in meaning with regard to men's personal lives. There are active links between their further development and the emergence and awareness of the values of socialism.

Links With the Main Task

Let us merely refer here to important and complex tasks which call for a systematic linkage between cultural activities and fundamental processes in the continued shaping of the socialist society. One can only point out some aspects of this linkage between cultural activities and the main task, enough to suggest the dimensions that are involved.

In conformity with the main task, the party has given and is giving constant attention to promoting socialist culture and art. Raising the cultural standard of living is an immediate partial goal of the main task. For that reason the party is dedicated "extensively to augment the wealth in material and intellectual values of socialist culture and initiate a varied and stimulating cultural life."⁴

The party program, the Party Congress report, and the Ninth SED Congress directive for the 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan mention a whole chain of measures directly serving the continued elevation of the people's cultural standard of living. They, among others, include the following:

Expanding the supply in intellectual-cultural and artistic achievements in response to the more and more differentiated intellectual-cultural needs of the working people, conditioned above all by their higher educational level, their place within the production process and their demands for meaningful leisure time activities, and which will in turn contribute to the further development of such needs.

Raising the effectiveness of radio and television through improved programs and better reception facilities; providing penetrating socialist art experience through an appropriate supply of films, books and records featuring new works of art of all types and genres; continuing the broad appropriation of the cultural and art legacy of humanism.

Expanding possibilities for developing a cultured socialist communal life in towns, villages and recreational areas, and improving the conditions for cultural communal experience, high-level fellowship, entertainment, dance and sports contests and, especially, the conditions for leisure time activities for youth.

Improving the effectiveness of various local cultural institutions -- culture centers, clubs, libraries, museums and so forth -- and modernizing them and gradually expanding the network of such institutions.

However, cultural policy, aiming in one way or another at a higher cultural standard of living, must not be satisfied with making available ever better supplies in cultural commodities and performances, with steadily and noticeably improving the possibilities of access to the cultural values available. Even at the 24th CPSU Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said: "Socialism not only gave the working masses access to intellectual values but it also turned them into creators of culture themselves."⁵ The Ninth SED Congress resolutions and the sociopolitical measures that followed are bringing to our attention that a qualitatively new situation is ripening that concerns the reciprocal relations between the material and the cultural standard of living, between the individual consumption and the level of culture, and also between the essence and content of material culture.

At the 25th CPSU Congress, Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev made a point of the need "for the growth in material possibilities to constantly go along with elevating men's moral-ideological and cultural level, or else we might experience backsliding into petty bourgeois modes of thinking and conduct."⁶ That sets down a basic orientation regarding the relationship between the material and cultural standard of living.

Which does not mean that the striving for a higher cultural standard of living should be understood as a "purely intellectual" aspiration, remote from any need for material and physical pleasures. It is not the claim to body comforts that is philistine, but the inability to understand that claims can only be met through one's own work and achievement and that one must not place one's own comforts above those of other people and of society.⁷

It is always a matter of a more intimate interpenetration between material and cultural needs. That must also be promoted, among other things, through the structures of individual consumption -- based on an adequate supply of cultural commodities and achievements, which is a gigantic and complicated cultural task. At present we cannot as yet -- despite our remarkable level of production -- fully satisfy demands for many journals, books, records and many other cultural commodities. But eventually the effectiveness of the socialist performance principle on the cultural standard of living is made to take hold in the conditions and structures of individual consumption.

The Party Congress gave attention to further raising the material culture in our socialist society and to a cultured structure to be given to all material working and living conditions. Developed socialism must, indispensably, show its own face ever more clearly, as it compares with that of capitalism, in the very terms of material culture and make its own historic superiority still more evident.

This in itself turns our eyes to the qualitative parameters of a cultural standard of living appropriate to the socialist society. That also includes such other questions as that about the degree of development of cultural creativity, the qualitative and quantitative level of intellectual-cultural needs and their ways and means of satisfaction, the true overall cultural influence coming from the considerably higher level of education and so forth. In the light of the Party Congress documents, it is becoming an important task in the theory of culture to come up with penetrating analyses of the unity and contradictory interchange between qualitative and quantitative aspects of the cultural standard of living and to do thorough research on the growth indicators for the cultural standard of living.

Among the qualitative issues for the further development of the cultural standard in socialist society is another problem: A further elevation of the people's material and cultural standard of living is possible only on the basis of high developmental speed in socialist production, greater efficiency, scientific-technical progress and growing labor productivity. The inevitable connection between socialist cultural development and the qualitatively decisive factors in economic growth is what one should have to inquire into.

The Ninth Party Congress virtually issued a challenge for an important cultural contribution to accelerating the development of those factors.

Our intensification and our struggle for high efficiency, rather than being purely economic requirements, are a factor in our overall social march ahead. That combines with personal attitudes, the shape of communist ethics, passion and personal commitment. Here we can only point out that socialist competition more and more strongly also contributes to giving socialist shape to the intellectual-cultural life in the collectives, to systematically forming the working people's knowledge, skills, awareness, inventiveness and variety of interests and to developing their creativity.

The movement for raising socialist work culture which was initiated by the party also has turned out to be most useful. It is as much a key problem for further raising the cultural standard of living in the working people's most important and vital spheres as it also affects the development of labor productivity and, in terms of further shaping the socialist way of life, helps bring about an atmosphere that does a great deal to enhance the joy in work and the willingness for achievement.

The intensification of production and the development of science and technology, the party program says, are making great demands on culture and education. It is worth commenting in this context on the working people's greater cultural-technical level. Sound professional skill and specialized technical knowledge, by now based on a high level of general education, are among its intellectual foundations.

The cultural-technical level is not to be relegated only to occupational qualifications in the narrow sense. It does not, in a one-sided fashion, pertain only to technical and technological demands given with the development of the tools of production. On the level of personal culture, of knowledge, skill and attitude, it reflects the combination of scientific-technical progress with the advantages of socialism, with the essential features of the socialist character of work and the position of real humanism man occupies within the socialist production and reproduction process.

On the foundations now reached, a cultural-technical level that is in line with the conditions and requirements of the developed socialist society entails also a higher capacity for scientific-technical creativity, the employment of polytechnical facilities, a technological and economic capability in assessing broadly ramified interrelations in production and basic knowledge in socialist economics, responsibility for the quality of one's own work, the desire for high efficiency and time saving and so forth. It includes the willingness to study throughout life and the ability to learn independently. The cultural-technical level develops the sense of honor and pride in one's occupation, in that the responsibility felt for one's own work at once becomes a responsibility to the production collective and the economy as a whole. It implies a personal-creative position, affecting one's whole personality, toward fundamental economic tasks. As an aggregate of abilities, knowledge, insights and expressions of will, it thus becomes a fact of culture.

All this is closely related to the development of all creative inclinations and proclivities and the stabilization of creative attitudes toward life (even when not directly related to production). One may recall here the thought Marx had when he said the saving of working time equals an increase of free time, that is, time for the full development of the individual who, in turn, being the greatest productive force, affects the productivity of labor. And Marx here talks of the skill for pleasure as a condition for the development of an individual gift: in artistic or scientific activities, practical-experimental actions and so forth, and also in play.⁸ That remark is relevant today not only to the socialist production relations as they really are and to a culturally already significant leisure time allotment, it also applies to a qualitatively increased state of education pointing to the possibilities of a much broader scale of creative interests and the pleasures granted by it. And our cultural life ought to take cognizance of that more and more purposefully.

"A main trend of socialist cultural work," so the Party Congress announced, "lies in providing a wider field of application, at greater breadth and higher quality, to all of men's inclinations and interests. The point is to develop the various talents and abilities and to form a creative attitude toward life."⁹ As a matter of fact, the combination of cultural progress with the intensity, effectiveness and productivity of public labor, and with the social activities of the working people altogether, has dimensions that reach much farther still. Comrade Erich Honecker has said: "The values of our culture are rooted in life. To an important extent they come right out of creative socialist labor that is free from exploitation. They express new human relations and qualities that grow and mature particularly through the contest for high achievements and in the public activities of the working people on the whole."¹⁰

This thought points to the indisputable need for theoretically understanding more deeply still the nature and particulars, the genesis and the developmental inevitability of the most important values and value systems of socialist culture as they relate to the fundamental economic and social laws of socialism, the specific socialist control over the scientific-technical revolution, and the impulses of economic, political and social progress in the developed socialist society. This is both important and topical.

This at least suggests a couple of things about how after the Ninth SED Congress cultural growth ought to be linked still more comprehensively and deliberately with basic processes in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society. Men's well-being and happiness always and in every case stand in the center of it, and cultural activities have to be aimed at making the character of our society come to the fore ever more convincingly as a truly humane order.

The Ninth Party Congress directed our attention at finding as organic a connection as possible of the social tasks and functions of socialist culture with providing much greater satisfaction of the growing and more and more differentiated personal cultural needs. We have been committed to fostering personal proclivities and abilities. And the increasing variety in individual

interests and demands is taken into account. It applies to all spheres of cultural work. Much remains to be done in creating still better preconditions for all of it, from the possibilities for advanced education, communal life or creative activity all the way to how to structure certain levels of material culture.

This requirement derives from the political course through which the party connects much closer than ever before with the interests and needs of the masses. The continued shaping of the developed socialist society and thus, the gradual transition to communism, in this respect also forms a new social level on which the material and intellectual needs will strongly develop in conjunction with the material resources and the individual abilities, demands and inclinations be marked by great richness and variety.

Higher Ideological Responsibility

The Party Congress documents are setting the course on a qualitatively higher level of ideological demands for cultural and artistic activity. To reach them belongs to the main content of those profound intellectual-cultural changes which the party program speaks about. And here the alliance of the working class with the socialist intelligentsia -- the artists and creators of culture included -- is a decisive force for realizing the great aims of science, culture and education especially. Comrade Erich Honecker has confirmed that the party is fostering this alliance "in every conceivable way." The centerpiece is and remains the firm relationship of confidence that holds the intellectuals and the party together on the basis of the political program goals formulated by the party and inspired by the struggle for a deeper appreciation for, and a continued creative elaboration of, our socialist Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The events in connection with the expatriation from the GDR of Biermann that had become necessary have made perfectly clear "how closely art and politics belong together and that it is necessary in our theoretical and ideological work thoroughly to explain the interconnections and manifestations of the class struggle between socialism and imperialism and always to connect the presentation of our theory and policy with ideological confrontation, with the destruction of the anticommunist, revisionist and 'ultra leftist' theories." Not only in the cultural sciences, Comrade Kurt Hager emphasized, should a different tone be sounded in this regard and a different song be sung, that is to say, a party-bound combative song that would help further reinforce the positions of socialism and peace and defeat the enemies.¹¹

A high degree of awareness by the broad popular masses, of socialist ideological determination in their thoughts and deeds, is a fundamental criterion of the developed socialist society. To help deepening the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook, contribute to the acquisition of a firm class standpoint in all key issues of political ideology, and reinforce the ideas and sentiments of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism is and remains a major ideological obligation in all intellectual-cultural work. That can only be fulfilled through struggle with all varieties of the imperialist ideology.

The higher ideological valuation of cultural and artistic tasks is, among other things, conditioned by the generally higher role attributed to the subjective factor in releasing and deliberately utilizing the inevitabilities, advantages and impulses of socialism; the intellectual, moral and psychological requirements that have to do with the molding of the socialist way of life and with the ever more advancing emergence and recognition of the values of socialism; the contribution culture and art are making to communist education, which also includes an intimate relationship to history, especially to the revolutionary traditions; and the specific possibilities culture and art have in forming communist ideals.

All that makes for an unprecedented broad scale in the creative and positive elaboration and solution of ideological issues and tasks that are occurring with the advance of the developed socialist society. The ideological struggle between socialism and imperialism evidently becomes more complicated under prevailing conditions and increases in scope and intensity. All the more necessary therefore also is an offensive confrontation with all conceptions and manifestations of the imperialist ideology, unmasking the reactionary and antihuman nature of imperialism, an intellectual offensive against all varieties of anticommunism and nationalism. The higher degree of maturity in socialist development calls for increased combat readiness for overcoming views, attitudes and characteristics that are alien to the nature of socialism and which to fight against is demanded by the party's program and statute.

Comrade Erich Honecker's saying that the appropriation of the scientific world-outlook cannot be confined to the conveying of knowledge but that it just as much includes firmness in viewpoint and respect for the moral greatness and beauty of man and his work of construction has an importance of principle. More articulately than ever before the Ninth Party Congress materials are saying that -- due to the state of general awareness reached -- not only scientific cognition and rational insights are ideological activity targets. The point is to reach equally effectively the ordinary everyday awareness, the direction of needs and attitudes, the personal norms of conduct, the moral concepts and the esthetic sensitivity, the sense of life and the entire emotional culture of men.

And so, in the further development of the socialist ideology, alongside a scientifically sound cognition and insight there is being placed, at an increasing rate, the ability correctly to work out social and personal experiences (conforming to the inevitabilities of the social forward movement); the ability in evaluating things and manifestations properly; the ability to shape the character of one's own relationships with the world, with society, with other people; and the personal weight felt in the importance of great social tasks and concerns and so forth -- in short, spiritual and emotional relationships which are particularly strong motivators and impulses on the psychological level of human action. Focused on that, the ideological functions of socialist culture and art are significantly broadened and deepened in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society.

The field of relations between the specifics of intellectual-cultural, prominently also of esthetic and artistic, phenomena and the general trends in socially significant ideological requirements is widening. Paying attention to the specifics of cultural and artistic phenomena in terms of cultural policy is not a matter that lies outside of the ideological problem, no turning away from ideological obligations and functions on the various levels of intellectual culture. On the contrary, it harbors the possibility of deepened ideological effectiveness.

The analysis undertaken by Comrade Erich Honecker in the Central Committee report of the intellectual problems in artistic creation brings out clearly that there is nothing automatic in this relationship. Artistic responsibility in socialism can only be understood as artistic responsibility to socialism. It would be nonsense to conceive of that responsibility in terms of a concept of quality carrying an abstract type of commitment to the specifics of art and being ideologically "neutral." The drawing of party-minded general conclusions from the various contradictory social and personal experiences, true valuations of human events full of conflict, and the artistic treatment of contemporary themes presuppose a thorough knowledge of socialist reality and definitely demand a high level of political and philosophic thinking and a personal attitude that is ready to testify to, and to strengthen, the historic and humanistic superiority of socialism in defense against any attacks upon it.

The party proceeds from the consideration that the strength and peculiarity of the arts do not flow from the illustration of preconceived notions but out of the depth of real discoveries in the life of the people. In observing all the specifics of the arts, it cares primarily for the trend of ideas, the deepening of the socialist content of ideas and thus, the ideological functions inherent in the arts. It lets itself be guided by the experience that party-mindedness, solidarity with the people and a socialist content of ideas in the life of art are not, for once and for all, quantities ever totally achieved but matters that must constantly be recreated in the creative process.

The dialectics between what has already been achieved and what still has to be achieved evidently has become an important question of valuation in terms of ideas and esthetics (extending all the way from the selection of the theme down to individual esthetic value judgments). And that is also the case with artistic truth. The pseudo-leftist condemnation of any "affirmative" (positive, corroborating) social attitude by art toward any kind of society, the hallelujah on any socially "subversive" (destructive or corrupting) function of art, which includes the values of artistic beauty, contradicts artistic responsibility to socialism. That responsibility entails the expression of the life of the contemporaries with all its contradictory, multilayered conflicts. It will negate esthetically, from the position of socialism, what is worthy of negation in the social and political life of socialist society. That cannot and must not make us oblivious to the need "to make visible in full splendor all the good and beautiful in our time and our world of socialism"¹² and to deepen within the people "the sense for the beauty in its history-shaping work."¹³

This is a matter of a scale of esthetic values that conforms with the humanity, freedom, safety and security, and the assurance in the future by real socialism: all within the dialectics between what has been achieved and what still must be achieved so that, "by comprehending the present, men will let themselves be more actively guided toward the future in taking a more active part in the formation of communist ideals and in seeking to find out what there is still left to do for bringing them to realization."¹⁴ While the party put this in terms of the concern of science for helping in the elaboration for alternatives in the solution of newly ripened tasks, that demand, persuasive enough, cuts close enough to art as well.

The ever broader and more diverse elaboration of esthetic value concepts in the contemporary artistic life of the developed socialist society becomes an essential point of departure for future-oriented artistic creations. Comrade Erich Honecker has pointed out that the task was placed on a new level of development. Certain values that historically have long become typical of our art are no longer "merely" inspired by work heroism and by the vanguard's sense of the future. Today they are deeply implanted in a new way in the practical experience of life on the part of millions of people. Life itself opposes placing these values in doubt. The important thing is to carry them further through the dialectic continuity of the artistic movement of socialist realism. With respect, in particular, to the heroism of labor, Willi Sitte pointed out that this had become much less dramatic externally today yet internally, more complicated. It would demand of the artist not only learning his lessons and always new understanding for these processes; what it also demanded was a far higher measure of imagination, intuition and inventiveness. The formation of a scale of esthetic values conforming to the degree of social maturity reached demanded -- Comrade Sitte spoke about it out of his own direct experience in art -- the full breadth and variety of socialist-realist art, its form-giving possibilities and its formal modes of expression. Equally much it calls for a new concentration on the artistic discoveries in the living socio-historic growth process of the working class.¹⁵

The Party Congress connected with the main problems here discussed in the "artistic responsibility to socialism" in a thoroughly constructive manner numerous other ideological questions about the development in the content of ideas, the party-mindedness and the solidarity with the people as required of socialist-realist art, which cannot be dealt with at this point.

Not all the art created in our republic, Comrade Willi Sitte said at the Party Congress, could be counted among socialist realism. There also were things short of solution, not fully mature, published too soon, and not up to high demands. "On these matters we still need greater frankness in our associations, stronger, more qualified and party-minded support by the sciences of literature and art and a broader public discussion."¹⁶

By means of all this, corner stones for a far-reaching ideological program for the further development of socialist culture and art have been marked. A wealth of problems arises from it which will get further theoretical treatment in the future as well as important commitments to consistent, party-minded, ideologically and esthetically incorruptible public literary and art criticism.

National and International Aspects in the Culture of the Developed Socialist Society

The Ninth SED Congress offered profound references to the share the socialist national culture has in the continued shaping of the socialist nation and to the dialectics of the national and the international in the shaping of the developed socialist society, which are very important to the developmental trend of the values, profiles and structures and to the entire intellectual character of socialist national culture in the GDR.

This socialist national culture absorbs the progressive and humanistic legacy created throughout the entire history of the German people as well as the great achievements of world culture, especially the cultural achievements of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. We regard "the valuable cultural legacy in its whole breadth as a firm component of the socialist national culture of the GDR."¹⁷ The point will be to work out the main contents and lines that vividly relate to the tasks of the present, which will merge the now developing socialist culture with the wealth of cultural values taken over from the past into an organic unity.

Within the framework of the indissoluble unity between proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism, the task has been given significantly to strengthen the socialist patriotic content of our culture and to develop it further as a source of socialist national consciousness and of patriotic pride in the GDR. Vivid relations to the revolutionary cultural traditions of the German workers movement and to the rich cultural legacy to which the growth of the GDR itself testifies can contribute to it particularly.

It is equally important to develop ever more clearly a relationship between the national and the international in all fundamental values and structures of our culture that would conform to the developed socialist society. That includes the further deepening of the sets of values in the GDR socialist national culture, pervaded as it is all the way by proletarian internationalism. Part of that is to integrate still more purposefully with our culture the achievements and values of international culture whereby to enlarge its own wealth and inner variety. The party program in this context points to the historical and contemporary cultural achievements of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries and to the humanistic and democratic accomplishments from all over the world. It recalls the rich stores of world culture that are being fostered in the GDR.

The developed socialist society is not established in national isolation. It "is the cooperative revolutionary work of the working class and all working people in all countries of the socialist community."¹⁸ The rapprochement among the socialist nations in all domains of public life is part of it. This process is no doubt being encouraged through a stronger direct internationalization of cultural processes and by initiating coordination, cooperation and coproduction in the development of the intellectual and material culture of socialism. This deserves great attention, of course. At the same

time, the program unequivocally marks out the main road: "Through a comprehensive development of its socialist national culture and the molding of its patriotic and internationalist socialist content, the GDR will make a worthy contribution to the international culture of socialism."¹⁹

FOOTNOTES

1. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 19.
2. Ibid., p 22.
3. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 102.
4. "Programm . . .," loc. cit., p 51.
5. L. I. Brezhnev, "CPSU Central Committee Status Report to the 24th CPSU Congress," APN publishing house, Moscow and Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1971, p 121.
6. L. I. Brezhnev, "25th CPSU Congress--CPSU Central Committee Status Report and the Next Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 96.
7. Cf. Margot Honecker, "Protokoll des IX. Parteitages der SED" (Ninth SED Congress Proceedings), Vol I, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, pp 292-293.
8. Cf. Karl Marx, "Principles of the Critique of Political Economy," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1953, pp 593-594 and 599-600.
9. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 103.
10. Ibid., p 102.
11. Kurt Hager, "Der IX. Parteitag und die Aufgaben der Gesellschaftswissenschaften" (The Ninth Party Congress and the Tasks of the Social Sciences), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 59.
12. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 106.
13. Ibid., p 91.
14. Ibid., p 106.
15. Cf. Margot Honecker, op. cit., p 374.
16. Ibid., p 375.

17. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 104.

18. "Programm . . .," loc. cit., p 21.

19. Ibid., p 53.

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EAST GERMANY

FAMILY RELATIONSHIP CHANGES IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY ANALYZED

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[Article by Prof Dr Anita Grandke, head of family law program in Jurisprudence Section, Humboldt University, East Berlin: On the Development of Family Relationships in the GDR"]

[Text] With the overall development of our socialist society and its family policy, a process of change in family relationships is taking place, and new values about living together also are forming in this sphere, which conform to socialist society. They enrich the lives of men, women and children and encourage personality development. In this multiform and by no means noncontradictory process, the responsibilities the marriage partners have to each other, and for the education of the children, are becoming greater. Marriage and family as a unit therefore also are subject to the family policy of the party and the government.

Our party program emphasizes that the molding of a socialist way of life also governs the shaping of marriage and family relationships.¹ This observation combines -- as does, in fact, the whole program -- the description of results in our development thus far with the description of the future.

The family, its content, its functions, and also its structure are significantly affected by any given social conditions. That is a general inevitability. Consequently, with the development and consolidation of socialist society in our republic family relationships also have changed. On the basis of the power of the working class, the public property in the means of production and the social security based thereon, all essential social processes are affecting family relationships. That includes in particular our socialist democracy with its diverse forms of the working people's participation in the management of our state and our economy; the comprehensive developmental possibilities for the socialist personality through education, culture, participation, and

the exercise of responsibility; and the equality of man and woman as a characteristic of their living together in society and within the family as well as the steady elevation of the material and cultural standard of living.

As consequence, a basic relationship has formed between family and society that conforms to the nature of socialism. No longer is the family a place that offers the working people asylum from a hostile environment. Instead, the basic interests of the family are in complete harmony with those of the socialist society. These are interests aimed at peace, social security, the happiness of man and the all round development of his abilities and talents. The concrete ties between family and society have many forms and they are determined by essentially identical goals. These ties are developed through the children and the public educational institutions as well as through the children's and youth organizations, through both spouses and their work collectives, their occupational activities, social work, cultural and other leisure time interests and so forth.

This relationship between family and society by no means diminishes the importance of family relationships, neither for the individual nor for society. On the contrary, only on this basis is the full development of valuable, substantial relationships possible, relationships that are among man's basic needs, the needs of husband and wife, parents and children. Marx called the relationship between husband and wife the most natural relationship between people, one that would show to what extent interhuman relations truly were human.² Essential aspects of man's social security, the prerequisites of which socialism has created and which are steadily consolidating while the main task is being implemented, receive their concrete mode of existence within the family, where they are being lived and experienced. On that basis, the family can exercise its specific influence on personal well-being and happiness and, mainly, on the formation of socialist personalities, whereby it significantly contributes to communist education.

The importance the family has to society and to the individual explains why our state has set down, in accordance with existing possibilities, a large number of special measures for furthering and supporting the family. Even as early as 1946/47, in the constitutions for the laender and in the first GDR Constitution, woman was declared to be equal with man in all government, economic and social fields. Article 30 of the 1949 GDR Constitution says about that: "Laws and regulations encroaching upon the equality between man and woman within the family are rescinded." The elimination of the inequality of woman in society and in the family was one of the decisive conditions for the formation of new family relationships. The law on maternity and child protection and women's rights (1950), the family code (1965), measures on the advancement of women and for the support of single mothers and large families are benefiting both marriage and family. Especially after the Eighth SED Congress, through its sociopolitical program, extensive measures became effective that visibly and lastingly improved the living conditions of the families. Family help already extends to all families with two or more children and also, increasingly, to young marriages that are only starting out in having families. It is a course purposefully being continued by the Ninth Party Congress.

As a consequence of the overall development of our society and its special family policy, a process of change in family relationships is taking place, and new values in line with the socialist way of life are forming also in this sphere of communal living, this "smallest cell" of society. Some thoughts are to be expressed in the following about this process which has many forms and by no means proceeds without contradictions. They are based on observations, investigations of general processes and special family surveys as well. Given the current state of scientific work on the family (and in view of the current state of family development itself), they can only be of a hypothetical nature. They are meant to explain some trends and also some problems which, it seems to me, should be given attention in practical social affairs as well as in research.

Development of Partner Relationships

It is characteristic of socialist society that the citizens' interest principally concentrates on the content of family relationships and not so much on the material conditions and the legal forms of communal living. (This basic statement follows from all surveys carried out about marriage and the family among young people and already married citizens, using small as well as large samples). Family relationships can supply essential aspects of man's feeling safe and comfortable, which makes socialist society generally possible in the first place, to the extent that they have a genuine substantive foundation, that is, rest on affection, are supported by shared views and interests and serve the development of the partners on a reciprocal basis. Even the society is not mainly interested in the family as an institution but rather in the influence it exercises on the formation of socialist personality, in its participation in the young generation's communist education. This by no means reduces the role of the family as the provider of material living conditions. The value and effectiveness of social services for the benefit of the family -- for example, the housing construction program and other sociopolitical measures -- depend on how these matters are used by the citizens for forming their relationships within the family. Saying all this much does not, as is sometimes assumed, reduce the importance of marriage as an institution and of the legal relations between parents and children. All it means is to express that legal norms play a supporting role meant to foster the development of the relationships. The protection of marriage or family as institutions irrespective of the content of the relationships -- as still typical today of bourgeois countries -- has, on the other hand, no ground to stand on in our society.

The party program describes work and leisure, the work collective and the family as those areas in which the socialist way of life forms.³ Admittedly, along with the work collective, the family is the community in which people live most of the time. That the extraordinary importance the public educational institutions have for the education of the children and youth does not diminish the importance of the family for the development of the children, has long been proven in the socialist countries' family theory.⁴ Nor do adults find their partnership, their marriage and family, less important because of the extraordinary importance of work and of the work collective. These are not alternatives but matters that are working together. Especially in connection with the

place men and women hold in the social labor process in socialist society, the content of the relationships to one another, and also to the children, changes.

Processes are under way for men and women which, though belonging inseparably together, are by no means equal in kind. Women in our society have abundant opportunities for leading meaningful lives, for developing their skills, for useful and necessary activities. Marriage and family are not the only areas and tasks from which they can draw meaning for their lives. That turns the importance of their partner relationships and even of their maternity into a relative value. Simultaneously, however, because of their respected position in society and their abundant possibilities for development, they expect more from their partnership. They have this need for community, for respect and help, mainly also for communication, joint pleasures, love and tenderness.

Maternity is a natural and at the same time one of the most beautiful and most important tasks in the life of woman. Socialist society, however, does not force woman to confine herself to that exclusively but finds an important social concern in caring for the combination of maternity with occupational work and the development of their personality. Moreover, woman today can face this task deliberately, due to birth control, and need not take it as something decreed by fate. Yet it is not only that maternity becomes integrated with the way woman wants to structure her life, the living and development conditions for woman at the same time facilitate a deepening in the relationship between mother and child, of its human quality, of its importance for the education of the children.

As to the attitude of man toward his family, the first point to be made is that his preeminent position in the family was deliberately organized, propagated and legally embellished in the exploiter systems as a form of the principle of "divide and conquer." In this way the attempt has been made and is being made to keep women away from the class conflict and also to provide the vast majority of men with a valve compensating them for their underprivileged jobs in industry, for their having nothing to say there, for their humiliation and exploitation. August Bebel has convincingly shown this to be the case in his book "Die Frau und der Sozialismus" (Woman and Socialism).

All foundations have been eliminated for that kind of a role for man within the family in the socialist society through the elimination of exploitation and because of the respect for people and human achievement. He no longer needs the family as relief from suppression. Nor can he be satisfied with the role of the provider. For man too, the nature of partner relationship and of the relations between parents and children can blossom to the fullest in socialist society. His interest in family relationships also aims at community and -- as does that of woman -- at fellowship, respect, recognition and help, love and tenderness. Man does not need children for his own confirmation. To him, they rather are an essential aspect of a meaningful life. Insuring their personality development belongs among his fundamental needs. The way man is thus turning to his family is also necessary in the interest of the development of woman and of the partner relationships. It leads to the joint responsibility by husband and wife for their mutual development and that of the children and has

for its prerequisite the division of labor and comradeship in coping with family matters. (Shortcomings still do exist in this regard, even though the situation may not be accurately defined by frequently used figures to the effect that the women still do 80 percent of the household chores. For one thing, among young married couples the situation may be different already. And also, the work men do has been coordinated first with the women and does usually represent the interests of the whole family). This development is of great value for the children because when mother and father work together, the family's educational potential is enhanced. The process outlined here of the changing attitude by the husband to his family is uneven and contradictory and requires much help from society. The process is further advanced among young married couples and young men and does express itself more in mutual help and a division of labor than is sometimes assumed and supported by enterprises and facilities.

Given all the differentiations in particular and the still stronger ties women feel to their family and their still greater commitment to it, surveys and observations yet show a strong process of assimilation in the expectations and attitudes to their families as between man and woman. Subjective premises are also becoming more identical because of their equal basic education, their occupational work and other social experiences, enabling them mutually better to live up to expectations. Simultaneously the level of demands made on society by both is rising. That is progressive and necessary and requires the nurture and notice by society. Especially in socialist society which makes possible for man and woman to fully develop their personalities, while it needs them too at an equal measure, the greatest value lies in common interests and views by the partners, in their complementing one another in the fulfillment of family tasks. For that reason it is by no means only woman that gains and finds her life's scope expanding from partnership relations based on love and joint responsibility for the family and reciprocal concern for job development, in short, where there is community based on equality. These are enrichments for both men and women. And for that reason it is also necessary to see issues of family development as those of the relationship between husband and wife, mother and father, not merely as matters for women and mothers only.

Marriage in socialist society is a community based on mutual love. This quality in the relationship between husband and wife is contained in the legal definition of marriage (Family Code Article 5), and it is primarily an expectation of the citizens, as all surveys show. Love, the desire and need to cohabit with a certain partner, is not only the decisive motive for getting married in our society but also for preserving the marital community. All that is meant by this is that ultimately the values that are pertinent to this community -- such as mutual understanding, trust, interest in each other, sexual harmony and so forth -- decide on the stability of the marriage, whereas, in comparison with them, external factors (like public opinion and -- despite all their importance -- legal arrangements) become more and more secondary.

Family relationships can however be formed only by the family members themselves precisely because they depend on feelings and are determined principally by the individuality of the spouses. Society bears a great responsibility for the

material as well as the intellectual-cultural developmental conditions for the family. Responsibility for intra-family relationships, however, can only lie in the family itself. And more than that: the full development of family relationships for the same reasons also requires a high degree of freedom of decision, and that is what the socialist society does in fact grant the citizens. That is of course not done, or not primarily done, by the norms of law but mainly by the development of the living conditions. What is meant here is the freedom of decision about partner relationships in general, about whom to marry, about whether to marry at all (one does not have to marry, not because of the child, not for material reasons), the decision to have a child or children and also -- finally -- the question of whether to preserve or to dissolve the marriage in serious conflict situations.

This high degree of freedom of decisions -- if gaged against the objective existing influence the partners have and the parent-child relations have on the living and development conditions of each individual concerned -- leads to an enormously greater self-responsibility. Here also the reason can be found for the great importance attached to taking issue intellectually with the problems of marriage and family, which proceeds systematically, step by step, along with what the society does to make living conditions easier. And here one must time and again be concerned with newly emerging problems.

Partnership relations, marriage and family in socialist society, while based on social security, economic independence and not on any kind of pseudo-morality, are supported by, and dependent on, a degree of civic awareness and self-responsibility that could never apply in previous social systems. This is the factual situation in which the demand in the party program (and also in the Youth Law) is objectively rooted which calls for preparing the young people for love, marriage and family. That is a task which should principally be undertaken as a deliberately conceived component of the general process of education and culture.

The ability in deliberately structuring partnership, marriage and family relations relates to a broad palette of relationships and life situations. It must bring out clearly that every partner relationship, even the premarital ones -- the more intimate it is, the more this is true -- requires mutual responsibility, and it must even anticipate the problems that may arise when the relationship, especially the marital relationship, is dissolved. Important as it is to help the partners form harmonious relations and to stabilize the marriage as a happy community, it is also necessary to insist on respect, worthy conduct, comradely help and, above all, the protection of the children's interests in cases where that community becomes untenable and a divorce becomes necessary.

This too follows as a consequence from the idea that marriage is a community based on love, whenever that quality is not attainable for life. From the fact that normally a marriage was based on love and the partners gave their living conditions into mutual trust, thanks to the developmental possibilities the partners have even after their divorce, through their socially secure places

in society, and in accordance with the general characteristics that shape personality in our society, the society may expect, increasingly, that the partners have a sense of responsibility for each other also when the marriage is in trouble, and for that, society must work. Here precisely, social forces may find they have a task to meet, whenever in a case of conflict it seems indicated that an influence should be exerted.

Conscious Parenthood

The position of the children in the family in socialist society is also subject to some fundamental change. They are not the objects of paternal interests but, from birth, subjects in their relations with their parents. No longer do they owe their existence to some biological contingency, nor to the economic interests of their parents (for example, manpower needs in the family enterprise or the desire to be taken care of when one gets old). They are the product of their parents' conscious decision which stems from their basic attitude to the meaning of life in our society. This basic condition in the parent-child relationship has a decisive influence on the desire for a child, the actual number of children in a family, and the parents' personal dedication to their children's development.

Taken together with the active role the parents play in social life and with their cultural growth, conscious parenthood significantly extends the educational potential of the family, and it can deepen the emotional ties between parents and children. Measures our state has taken to encourage the wish for children of one's own proceed from this quality in the parent-child relationship. They affect the desire for a child via the general respect and appreciation for parenthood, especially for maternity. At the same time, material assistance rendered by society means to cause to materialize the desire for a child that is latent in a particular family.

The importance the family has to the children is changing in as much as here also a trend toward relativism is at work. The qualitative and quantitative increase in public educational institutions reduces more and more the direct dependency of the children on their parents, on their economic situation, for instance, or on their intellectual-cultural level. Yet even for the children, this more relative role of their family in their lives is only one side of what is involved here. The family as a small community, where the children are wanted and affection nurtures the relationship, especially also with the dedication for each other from the time the children are born until they become independent, this community has a great influence which ultimately cannot be replaced, particularly not with regard to the forming of characteristics, attitudes and views the children and young people develop. Thus the family is greatly involved in deciding to what extent the developmental possibilities, offered to all on equal terms by society, will be made use of and the abilities acquired, applied for the benefit of society. "When parents instill in their children respect for people, for life, work, fulfillment of duties, love for truth, modesty, mutual respect, and civic responsibility, it significantly helps awaken and foster the characteristics one would wish for young communists."⁵

It is not a simple process of development that children and young people go through. Day after day they are exposed to a great number of impressions and data and are under the richly varied influences of many different educators (more from year to year), the youth organization, the collective, the circles of friends, the mass media and so forth. All that calls for creating order, evaluating, absorbing and sorting things out, which goes on day after day within the families, and much of it can in fact only be done there. And therefore the educational tasks of the family are getting greater, as they do in the social institutions as well, and greater value attaches to the relations between parents and children. This development, finally, also enriches the parents' life but brings with it also many problems for family life, substantive and temporary ones.

By no means does the importance of the family for the children result only from the parent-child relationship. Sibling relationships are part of it too. What is still lacking is an examination of the influence of these relations on the development of the adolescents, in particular regarding the children who, to a large extent live from early on not only within their families but also in the children's collective. Even so, it can be taken for granted that sibling relationships constitute a significant and, definitely, a specific component in the educational process. They lend impulse to the process of self-education and mutual education of children and youths by their being together. The sibling relationship, furthermore, facilitates more varied and balanced educational work by the parents and provides the possibility for the use of experiences, contest and comparison within the family. The sibling relationship, not last, favors involving the children in taking care of domestic chores and in the formation of a number of characteristics, such as solidarity and the sense of mutual responsibility, which are essential in the process of communist education.

Thus the family in our society is of the greatest importance to personality development, to the happiness and safety of all family members; the adults and the children. Both, the interests and the development of the children and adults, are as important to society as they are to the individuals. In our society it is neither necessary nor suitable to meeting the family tasks that parents, especially the mothers, sacrifice themselves to the children's interests. And that explains why marriage and family together form one subject of the family policy in our state.

Actions taken by the state and the law and the various social institutions focus on the family and marriage in its function as the basis of the family, not on marriage per se. Marx once said: "If marriage were not the basis of the family it would as little be subject to legislation as friendship is."⁶ This is a thought that fully applies to our circumstances. It does not mean, however, that the family is helped only in the interest of the children and that only because of them an incomplete or a large family gets special support. All family policy measures (including the legal provisions for marriage) focus on the interests of the children and the adults, the latter, in their capacity as parents. They wish to foster the developmental conditions for the children

and at the same time make it easier for the parents fully to live up to their responsibilities as mothers and fathers in adjusting the children harmoniously to their all round personality development, which ultimately is in the interest of the children themselves.

The socialist society facilitates and requires the emergence of new family relationships. The problems of family development, the characteristic features of this sphere of life as well as the problems arising here, already constitute results of complex processes typical of life in socialist society.⁷ Today's family relations also are an outcome of our targeted reduction of bourgeois pseudomorality and double standards in ethics and external coercion, of the disregard for the intrinsic responsibility of the person, especially of woman, particularly to shaping this sphere of life, as is typical of the exploiter system.

All that makes it apt to speak of the emergence of new family relations. As everything else in the life of society, it leads to new problems, tasks and opportunities. That is the reason why the growing interest society is showing in family development, which can be observed in all socialist countries, will not be a passing phenomenon. And thus it was only logical that our party program has assigned a firm place in our society and our overall tasks to the family and family policy in conjunction with both the problems of the socialist way of life and communist education and social policy.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1974, p 55.
2. Cf. Karl Marx, "Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts," Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Supplementary Volume, Part I, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1968, p 535.
3. Cf. "Programm . . .," loc. cit., p 53.
4. Cf. Rosemarie Walther, "Family Education as Component of the Socialist Way of Life," EINHEIT, No 9, 1971, pp 986 ff.
5. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 100.
6. Karl Marx, "The Divorce Draft Law," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 1, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1956, p 149.
7. Inge Lange has made a special point of this aspect of the problem with regard to the development of woman. Cf "Woman in the Social Life of the GDR," EINHEIT, No 9, 1975, p 957.

EAST GERMANY

GROWING RAPPROCHEMENT BETWEEN CLASSES AND STRATA DISCUSSED

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[Article by Prof Dr Rudi Weidig, director, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Sociology, SED Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences: "The Workers Class and the Process of Social Rapprochement Between the Classes and Strata." For related information see JPRS 67887, 9 Sep 76, No 1290 of this series, pp 19-35 and JPRS 68242, 19 Nov 1976, No 1321 of this series, pp 13-24]

[Text] The Ninth SED Congress documents layout the long-range future course for the further development of the classes and strata in our society. With respect to the workers class, the political and social main force for social progress, Comrade Erich Honecker emphasized: "We shall see to it that it will further strengthen its creative forces and its influence in all areas of public life."¹

The social rapprochement between the classes and strata under the leadership by the workers class was emphasized at the Ninth Party Congress as one of the fundamental criteria of the developed socialist society. This no doubt amounts to an historically inevitable, important and lengthy process. The reason for that mainly lies in the fact that this rapprochement can in no way be reduced to an assimilation of the classes and strata on their prevailing level of development, as it were. Rather, this is a process that will advance "with the perfecting of socialist production relations, the higher development of the productive forces in town and countryside, the perfecting of socialist democracy, the elevation of the educational level, the increase of intellectual work in the reproduction process and the further improvement in working and living conditions."² This process is taking place under our party's leadership and based on the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook and the ideals of the workers class. It ties in with the development of the socialist way of life and thus emerges as the fundamental form of movement of the working classes and strata on the historic road toward establishing the classless communist society.

Practice has shown the social rapprochement to be a very complex material, ideological as well as deeply democratic process in which all classes and strata of our society are actively involved through their own contributions.

In this process particularly the workers class proves itself as the main political and social force and puts its leadership role in our socialist society into effect. The decisive ideological impulses are coming from the workers class; it creates the essential material conditions for the further social rapprochement between the classes and strata. Within the framework of the farsighted alliance policy of the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, social rapprochement, as Erich Honecker has emphasized, is a process of mutual give-and-take³ in which all working classes and strata take part through historically valuable deeds and specific acts. That means the classes and strata in our society will become more alike to the extent that they themselves develop further qualitatively and increasingly shape their own socialist profile. That is to say, the further development of the friendly classes and strata and the consolidation of the leading role of the workers class in our society do not stand in contrast with the social rapprochement but constitute the very essence of this fundamental social process. As the result of this joint effort on behalf of social progress, the fundamental conditions in the existence and development of the classes and strata, especially the working conditions and the way of life, will become more alike, and the political-moral unity of the people will emerge and consolidate still more extensively.

New Historical Trend in Class Development

The Ninth Party Congress requirement takes cognizance of the fact, with respect to the social rapprochement, that in the GDR the classes and strata already have much in common. All classes and strata in our society are united by means of the socialist property, especially the socialist public property in the means of production. They are united through their, in principle, identical attitude toward our socialist workers and farmers' state as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat which represents the interests of the whole people. They are united through the leading force, the Marxist-Leninist party, and the socialist ideology which, produced by the workers class, is more and more becoming the ideology of the people in its entirety. They are united through their joint socialist work and their desire for bringing ever more effectively to bear the advantages and impulses of socialism on the further shaping of the developed socialist society.

"In the GDR, based on the socialist mode of production, the social structure of society has changed fundamentally. Exploitation of man by man has been eliminated forever, and class antagonism has disappeared."⁴ According to the statistics, approximately 79 percent of the working population in the GDR belongs to the workers class, 7.3 percent to the class of the cooperative farmers, approximately 10 percent to the stratum of the intelligentsia, and approximately 3.7 percent to the stratum of the craftsmen and tradesmen. The essential point is that "on the basis of the socialist power and property relations and of the socialist consciousness of the working people, close and permanent relationships of comradesly and creative cooperation have developed between the workers class, the class of the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other working people."⁵ That is to say, we have reached an entirely new historic quality in the development of the classes and strata.

The tendency toward increasing differentiation and polarization between the class forces, which has for centuries been the typical tendency of the antagonistic class society, has been overcome and has been replaced by a new historic tendency toward a permanent alliance of the working classes and strata, their increasing political-moral unity and their social rapprochement.

Today the development of the social structure is above all characterized by the task to continue shaping the developed socialist society, whereby to create the fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism. This profound historic process places on all classes and strata ever higher demands regarding their creative activity, their awareness, cultural and educational qualifications and discipline. The workers class brings to realization its leadership role in this process on the basis of its social situation, its increasing creativity and the example it gives in awareness, in that it creates the decisive material and ideological conditions for implementing the common interests of all working people, enabling all of them in making a growing contribution to it. Along these lines, the party program states: "The leadership role of the workers class is brought to realization in inseparable connection with the solution of the political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural tasks in the shaping of the developed socialist society."⁶

What has been created in all that the classes and strata have in common, socioeconomically, politically and ideologically, is the foundation on which the new tasks for their qualitative development have matured. For the overall process in the further development of socialist society it is of an importance of principle that one will overrate neither what they do in fact have in common -- the maturity of the classes and strata already achieved -- nor the social differences still existing, but that one will not underrate them either.

Social differences are objectively conditioned at the prevailing developmental state of our society. They are caused mainly by differences in the levels or forms of socialist property; the diversity in the position and role of the various groups of working people in the social organization of labor; and the differences in the nature of the work engaged in, and in the working and living conditions. Based on these objective conditions, differences in the social situation of the various groups of working people pertain to their way of life, the specifics in their needs and interests, the real possibilities for the satisfaction of their needs, and certain habits of living and attitudes of mind.

These social differences have their historic roots in the exploiter society, especially in the level of development of the productive forces and the social division of labor it left behind. While socialism has already been able to overcome the class contradictions and social differentiations deriving therefrom, it has not yet overcome all social differences. Reducing and, eventually, surmounting them, it turns out, requires a high level of development for the productive forces and, with it, the further perfecting of the socialist production relations and purposeful ideological work. "Among the fundamental insights of Marxism-Leninism is that each social advance must be based on the development of the productive forces. In that sense, our party, on behalf of assuring our goals, aimed at the well-being of the people, is pursuing a forward looking policy."⁷

The Role and Development of the Workers Class

The party program explains why the workers class is the main political and social force of social progress and how it is realizing that role.⁸ Extraordinary importance in this no doubt accrues to scientific-technical progress as the key issue for the increasing economic performance and also for further development in social relations in socialist society. As it can be clearly seen indeed that the workers class, once it has seized political and economic power, develops further, principally through its conscious activities in the development of the social productive forces, those qualitative characteristics and conditions which make it capable of being the most revolutionary class and of assuming leadership over society. Those characteristics are creativity, great cultural and other qualifications, collectivity, initiative, discipline, organization, a social sense of responsibility and internationalist thinking.

Throughout this process the workers class turns more and more into a physically and intellectually active class. By means of obtaining mastery of the scientific-technical progress, it lays the decisive material conditions for reducing the essential differences, mainly also those between physical and intellectual work and between town and countryside, proceeding step by step. Even today it has already become apparent that with the development of the productive forces and the perfecting of socialist democracy, more and more intellectual, especially also intellectual-creative, work on the part of the working people becomes necessary for handling the material production and reproduction process. Within the framework of this fundamental process there are many aspects to the further development of the workers class and the consolidation of its influence in all domains of socialist society.

First, that shows up in the increasing social activities by the workers class, especially in the rational utilization and development of social productive forces. While the workers class has ever since it was founded been most closely associated with the development of modern, especially industrial, productive forces, that fact applies to socialism in a new qualitative sense. Here the worker is socialist owner and producer at once. That is why the further development of the workers class proceeds "above all through the struggle for increasing labor productivity, for implementing the scientific-technical revolution, through socialist competition, the innovator movement, and the workers' active participation in the management, planning and further perfecting of socialist democracy."⁹ This important process is to a large extent being socially promoted by the ideological work undertaken by the party and the trade unions. An important influence is exercised therein by the unity of economic and social policy. Improvements in living conditions, especially for workers' families, more take-home pay with stable consumer prices for basic foodstuffs, rentals and tariffs, higher minimum wages and other socio-political measures, launched along with a target-oriented political-ideological work, further the workers' understanding of economic and political interconnections on the basis of which their scope for a sense of responsibility, for optimism and creative initiative expands considerably.

Second, through scientific progress in material production there are being created the kind of working conditions that facilitate a close combination between physical and intellectual work, which fosters personality development. Today already physical and intellectual work are closely combined for many skilled specialized workers. The proportion of workers working under modern production conditions is growing; their activities are in the process of becoming more like those of the technical intelligentsia engaged in material production.

The Ninth Party Congress has issued the task to plan and still more successfully implement this significant process of social development. Great importance here lies in reducing, and eventually eliminating, heavy physical work and health hazards in the work. "Working conditions systematically have to be organized in such a way that they promote joy in one's work, willingness for accomplishment and creativity as well as the working people's desire for order, security and discipline."¹⁰ The improvement of working conditions is an objective of great political scope. It promotes the social unity of the workers class and the further development of its talents and skills.

Third, the workers class develops in particular through its growth in culture and skills. This process of intellectual growth gives a decisive impetus to scientific-technical progress and to the social activities of the workers class. The workers class in the GDR is characterized altogether by great dynamics in the acquisition of culture and skills. A good 60 percent of industrial workers today consists of certified specialists or workers with advanced technical skills. Culture and skills like these are especially important for the young generation. At present, approximately 81 percent of our young people graduates at the age of 16 from general education polytechnical secondary schools. Of them, 99 percent gets specialization certifications. The proportion of the lower educational and qualification levels will go down to a minimum within the next 20 or 30 years. In combination with the other appropriate changes in objective working conditions, this is a decisive factor for reducing the social differences between predominantly physical or intellectual workers.

By means of systematically structuring a personality-promoting content of labor and by raising cultural and education skills, the social living conditions can be brought up to par for the as of now still less skilled segments of the workers class. Especially for the working women, whose skills are partly still much lower than those of male workers, our republic has done a great deal in recent years for noticeably improving the social conditions for their work and their training and advanced training for technical skills. Important preconditions have been established allowing the women to do still more justice to their position of equality in society and to combine their occupational work still more successfully with their tasks as mothers and in the family. In the few years from 1971 to 1975, the proportion of female production workers with specialist certifications rose from 26.3 to 36.1 percent, and in the 25 to 30-year age-group, the proportion has already reached 75 percent. Great priority is assigned by socialist management activity to training women especially and to constantly improving the working and living conditions for women's creative activities.

Fourth, the further development of the workers class entails all the groups that are part of it in the various areas of the social reproduction process. The workers class of socialist society is that class which directly manages the material reproduction process based on socialist public property, and the industrial workers are the main social group in this. Their creative performance especially in the material production and their social activities shape the social profile of the workers class. The qualitative development of the workers class however more and more also draws in the workers and employees in the other areas of the reproduction process, in construction, trade, transportation, agriculture, services and so forth. Here also the important point is to produce more and more the kind of conditions, through the further development of the modern productive forces and, step by step, through increasing concentration of labor, that will make labor more efficient, physically easier and intellectually more demanding. That is all the more important in as much as the workers and employees in the areas mentioned fulfill important functions for the ever improving satisfaction of the working people's needs and thus bear a great responsibility for the fulfillment of the main task.

The development of the workers class is closely tied up with the development of socialist consciousness, with the growing leadership role of its party and the consolidation of the unity between party and class. The solution of all tasks in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, above all, makes a high demand on the intellectual, in particular the ideological, attitude of the workers class and on its ability in consciously planning, managing and implementing in practice all the novel social processes. Those tasks are posed in terms of scientific-technical progress, the intensification of production, the perfecting of socialist democracy, and in what has to be done for deepening socialist economic integration, all of which makes great demands on the political-moral and technical skills of the workers class. None of these tasks can be solved without the leadership by the Marxist-Leninist party and the steady consolidation and liaison between the workers class and its party.

Consolidation of the Alliance and the Rapprochement Between the Classes and Strata

All processes in the development of the workers class are in various ways of decisive importance to the increasing influence by the workers class in all spheres of society as well as to the further social rapprochement between the classes and strata. Through its qualitative further development, the workers class will be able ever better to fulfill all its social qualifications and functions as the bearer of the political power and of socialist public property, as the producer of the largest part of the material wealth of all society, and as the most highly organized, disciplined and conscious class. In that sense, the qualitative development of the workers class is the fundamental condition for further consolidating its leadership role and for advancing the rapprochement process.

Decisive impulses are coming from the workers class for the further development, particularly, of the class of the cooperative farmers and the stratum of the intelligentsia. It is precisely in the steady deepening of its alliance

with the class of the cooperative farmers that brings out the growing ability the workers class has for leadership of society. That alliance gives socialist society its political foundation. It will "deepen with the introduction of industrialized production methods and the perfection of socialist production relations in agriculture and through the interlinking of agriculture with the other economic branches involved in foodstuffs production."¹¹ That in turn enables those engaged in agriculture, forestry and the foodstuffs industry in better meeting their social tasks of supplying the population with high-grade foodstuffs and the economy, on a stable basis, with agricultural raw materials.

Through what the classes and strata have in common, due to the construction of socialism, the relations between town and countryside also have assumed a new quality. Not only those contrasts between town and countryside that are characteristic of the exploiter society, but some significant social differences also could already be surmounted. In important areas of public life, such as the content and degree of school education, the village is no longer lagging behind the town in the GDR today. The qualifications of the cooperative farmers are becoming gradually more like those of the industrial workers. The village has become much more like the town through the changes in the working and living conditions of the cooperative farmers, through the development of transportation, the greater amount of leisure time, the higher income and so forth.

The decisive material foundation for the further development of the class of the cooperative farmers lies in scientific-technical progress and in the transition, connected with it, to industrialized large-scale crop and animal production. On that basis is the rapprochement process between the working class and the class of the cooperative farmers being effectively promoted. There also is a greater importance in the fact that ever larger collectives are working together within the framework of the agro-industrial complexes, that laborers, cooperative farmers and rural workers of the cooperating enterprises are working directly together for solving their common tasks and that the local state organs, together with the state-owned and cooperative enterprises and facilities located within their territory, are engaged in solving tasks, for instance in complex territorial rationalization, organize an extensive participation by the citizens and thereby bring it about that new reserves are constantly being tapped for improving the rural working and living conditions. Hand in hand with these processes, characteristics are forming in the class of the cooperative farmers that are typical of the workers class, such as collectivism, fine education, solidarity and a social sense of responsibility. That is becoming ever more evident.

The socialist intelligentsia, predominantly coming out of the workers class and the class of the cooperative farmers, is making an increasing contribution, in close alliance with the workers class and the class of the cooperative farmers, to the all round development of socialist society. Through creative cooperation with the other working people, the intelligentsia is engaged in mainly intellectual activities that are calling for high degrees of skill.

Through creative intellectual work, through its work in economics, science and technology, education, health and culture, the intelligentsia significantly contributes to scientific-technical progress and to elevating the population's material and intellectual-cultural standard of living. Especially the acceleration of scientific-technical progress and production intensification are "of great social concern to the entire workers class and intelligentsia in our country."¹² In the struggle for taking care of this objective, the workers class and the intelligentsia learn from each other. More and more workers are becoming familiar with science data, with economic and social interconnections and with the conditions for intellectual-creative work. A segment of the scientific-technical intelligentsia is moving still closer to material production, exercising functions in the production process itself.

Through a still closer connection between larger areas of science and material production and through the workers' and cooperative farmers' improving educational and skill levels, the social differentiations resulting from complicated intellectual work will be reduced further. Even today it is no longer anything special that, under modern production conditions, workers are carrying out functions and occupations in material production that require the skills of a technician or engineer. At the same time, however, the proportion of members of the scientific-technical intelligentsia is growing that exercises directly in the material production process highly qualified control, maintenance and operational functions. This is gradually giving rise to groups of working people who, while being engaged in material production, are doing highly qualified intellectual work and thereby, in their work, exhibit characteristics that are as typical of the intelligentsia as of the workers class.

Nothing would be more erroneous, however, than to infer from these processes that it has become superfluous by now to speak of a social stratum of the intelligentsia sui generis. Between the workers class and the intelligentsia there exist "still significant differences with respect to their roles in the social organization of labor, their working and living conditions, their ways of life, and the specifics in their needs and interests. And furthermore, even within the intelligentsia there are differences as to the special conditions under which the work is done and to the conditions of living."¹³ There is great variety among these differences, of course. They are, generally speaking, less pronounced among technicians, engineers, agronomists and zoologists, and more so among those members of the intelligentsia who are less closely connected with material production. In order generally to surmount the social differences between those who mainly work physically and those who mainly work intellectually, we need to reach a very high level in the productive forces, in economic performance and socialist consciousness, which is only possible through establishing a close alliance and creative cooperation among all classes and strata in our society coming about in the course of a long historic process. The cooperative and private tradesmen and craftsmen also have their place and function in this process.

All this indicates: A steady encouragement of the alliance between the workers class and the other working people, and the social rapprochement of the classes and strata that goes with it, is a decisive objective inevitability for the

for the entire period of the continued shaping of the developed socialist society. The speed and scope of the social rapprochement are mainly determined by the development of the modern productive forces. At the same time, however, this turns out to be a very complex process entailing all essential aspects of the shaping of a socialist way of life.

Not one step on this road is spontaneous. In doing everything we can to foster in every way the development of the working classes and strata and to consolidate the leadership role of the working class and our party, we do the best we can in further promoting the social rapprochement between the classes and strata, whereby we also create the fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism.

FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 115.
2. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 39.
3. Erich Honecker, "Die Rolle der Arbeiterklasse und ihrer Partei in der Sozialistischen Gesellschaft" (The Role of the Workers Class and Its Party in Socialist Society), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1974, p 226.
4. "Programm . . .," loc. cit., p 36.
5. Ibid., p 37.
6. Ibid.
7. "Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht . . .," loc. cit., p 69.
8. Cf. "Programm . . .," loc. cit., p 37.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., p 24.
11. Ibid., p 38.
12. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht . . .," loc. cit., p 73.
13. Kurt Hager, "Der IX. Parteitag und die Gesellschaftswissenschaften" (The Ninth Party Congress and the Social Sciences), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 43.

EAST GERMANY

SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 2, Feb 77 signed to press 11 Jan 77
"For Documentation" addendum

Intensification Concepts Promote Scientific-Technical Progress

[Summary of article by Dr Dieter Weger, department chief, SED Frankfurt/Oder
Bezirk Management; pp 171-177]

[Text] Proceeding from experiences with long term intensification concepts, it is being shown how through them bases for future performance increases are created and a high labor productivity and efficiency are reached. Intensification concepts have to be defined concretely in close cooperation with the working people and through the use of their experiences. They form valuable bases for new initiatives in socialist competition and for the acceleration of the scientific-technical progress.

The Enterprise Party Organization in the Struggle for Higher Rate of Economic Performance

[Summary of article by Gerhard Wagner, graduate engineer and economist, party secretary in Screws and Standard Parts Enterprise (VEB), Hildburghausen plant; pp 178-183]

[Text] The enterprise collective of the Hildburghausen Screws and Standard Parts State Enterprise takes its clues from the standards set by the Five-Year Plan. All possibilities for intensification are being tapped, high scientific-technical achievements are being accomplished, in order to compensate for the working hours taken up by sociopolitical measures and also to exhaust additional reserves. Decisive for the initiatives taken by the working people were the purposeful political-ideological work, the model effect of the communists and youth brigades, concrete competition management and exchange of laborers with the Soviet partnership enterprise.

Some Thoughts on the Fascism in Contemporary Latin America

[Summary of article by Rodney Arismendi, first secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Uruguay; pp 211-219]

[Text] The current revival of fascism in Latin America is part of the pitiless struggle between the peoples on the one side and U.S. imperialism and antinational oligarchies, on the other. The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay in this context warns against fatalistic pessimism as much as against exaggerated optimism. He brings out the criteria of fascism in Latin America and emphasizes that the isolation and destruction of fascism are absolutely prerequisite to once again renewing the advance of the revolutionary process on the continent.

The Portuguese Revolution--Successes, Problems, Dangers

[Summary of article by Dr Klaus Steiniger, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND correspondent in Lisbon; pp 220-228]

[Text] For almost 3 years a contradictory revolutionary-democratic process has been going on in Portugal which is governed by the universally valid inevitabilities in the transition from capitalism to socialism yet shows particular features of its own. Despite the fact that reaction has been able to regain the offensive since the fall of 1975, the main socioeconomic results of the April Revolution could be preserved in their essentials, thanks to the struggle by the workers class, with the Portuguese Communist Party in the lead, and the other popular forces. These forces are engaged in a, thus far, undecided, harsh and long struggle for the permanent consolidation of a democratic regime.

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EAST GERMANY

TEXT OF SED CENTRAL COMMITTEE GREETINGS TO LDPD CONGRESS

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Mar 77 p 1

[SED Central Committee greetings to 12th LDPD Congress: "In Firm Partnership for the Benefit of Our People: SED Central Committee Greetings to the LDPD Congress"]

[Text]

12th Party Congress of the Liberal-Democratic Party of Germany

Dear Friends!

In the name of the Central Committee of the SED and in my own name I send to all delegates and guests of the 12th LDPD Congress friendly greetings and wishes for successful deliberations. In firm and confident community, the LDPD made a big contribution to fulfilling the tasks set by the Eighth SED Congress and is now devoting all its energy to implementing the resolutions of the ninth party congress. Its members have earned merit through industrious, creative, and responsible work for the strengthening and authority of our socialist workers and peasants state. The efforts of all working people for the welfare of our people have been rewarded. Our successes are the visible result of outstanding work of all classes and levels who conscientiously do their duty in service to the socialist fatherland.

The SED Central Committee notes with gratification that your activity for peace and social progress, which is marked by the ideals of humanism, has contributed to strengthening socialism. Together--closely linked with the Soviet Union and the other states in the socialist community--we are successfully shaping the advanced socialist society.

Our party values very positively the persistent and trusting cooperation with your party, which has lasted for over 30 years, because it serves the whole people. You have always attempted, in humanistic responsibility, to draw all members into the shaping of the social present and future. We continue to count on the creative initiative of the LDPD in the realization

of the goals and tasks of the 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan. We express thanks and recognition for their fruitful achievements to all members and functionaries of the LDPD.

We welcome with all our hearts the fact that your party is undertaking many efforts to see to it that the members participate actively in the solution of the major task in its unity of economic and social policy. The work of the LDPD and all the forces working in the National Front helps to promote socialist morality and a socialist way of life among the citizens. We thus guarantee social security, a happy life, human dignity, and true freedom.

Your party devotes great attention to developing repair and supply services. A growing volume and better quality of services will make the lives of the working people more pleasant. We reaffirm that craftsmen, professional people, and individual tradesmen will be assured of favorable opportunities to participate in the shaping of the socialist society. In our socialist state they have secure prospects.

With the further strengthening of our socialist country we contribute to the increase of the strength of the socialist community of states in the 60th year of the Great Socialist October Revolution. Our effort is directed toward eliminating the dangers which threaten the security of the peoples. Therefore we advocate an end to the arms race, arms limitation, and disarmament.

Relaxation of tensions is the way to a durable and just world peace. This policy was reaffirmed by the session of the Political Consultative Committee of the member states of the Warsaw Pact.

In firm alliance with all social forces we will carry through the foreign and domestic policy resolved at the ninth party congress, which is directed to the welfare of the people. In the period ahead we will continue to do everything to consolidate further the community of the parties united in the National Front.

We wish the 12th LDPD Congress good successes and to all members and functionaries best health and vigorous initiative in the fulfillment of the tasks set.

With socialist greetings

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany

E. Honecker, General Secretary

Berlin, 2 March 1977

EAST GERMANY

LDPD HOSTS BANQUET FOR FOREIGN DELEGATIONS TO 12TH CONGRESS

Participants Reported

East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 2 Mar 77 p 1

[Text] On the eve of the 12th LDPD Party the Political Committee of the Central Board of the LDPD gave a dinner in the Elefanten-Keller of the Elephant Interhotel in Weimar to greet the foreign guests participating in the party congress. These were the delegation of the Democratic Party of Poland, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, and the Liberal People's Party of Finland. The invitation was accepted by the Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Hoang Tu, as well as the Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassadors of the People's Republic of Poland, the CSSR, and the Republic of Finland, Jerzy Gawrasiak, Frantisek Hamouz, and Osmo Kock.

Party friend Dr Gerlach cordially greeted the foreign guests participating in the 12th party congress with a toast in which he expressed the close bonds of the Liberal Democrats with the Soviet Union and the other socialist fraternal countries and emphasized the significance of peaceful coexistence for the securing of peace. The delegation of the Democratic Party of the People's Republic of Poland is under the leadership of its chairman, Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak, deputy chairman of the State Council of Poland. Other members of the delegation are Zdzislaw Siedlewski, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party, Sejm representative Jerzy Jozwiak, member of the presidium of the Central Committee and secretary of the Katowice Voivodship organization and Sejm representative, and Andrzej Rajewski, member of the Central Committee and head of the presidium section of the Democratic Party Central Committee. The delegation is accompanied by Tadeusz Trzcinski, editor of the Democratic Party's central organ, KURIER POLSKI.

The delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party is headed by its general secretary, Jiri Fleyberk, representative of the Czech National Council, pending the arrival of the chairman of the party, Dr Bohuslav Kucera, who is still at an international conference. Other members of the delegation are Oldrich Burger, member of the presidium of the Central Board of the

Czechoslovak Socialist Party and secretary of the Central Board of the National Front of the CSR and representative of the Federal Assembly of the CSSR, and Zdenka Hanzlova, member of the Central Board and chairwoman of the Northern Bohemia district organization of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and representative of the Czech National Council. The delegation is accompanied by Miroslav Straka, chief editorial secretary of the central organ of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, SVOBODNE SLOVO.

The delegation of the Liberal People's Party of Finland is under the leadership of its chairman, Prof Pekka Tarjanne, member of parliament. Other members of the delegation are Juhani Soila, chairman of the North Karelian district of the Liberal People's Party, Leif Wikholm, member of the Party Board of the Liberal People's Party and director of the newspaper UUSI POLTTOPISTE.

The leaders of the foreign delegations emphasized the friendly bonds of their parties with the LDPD in their toasts during the dinner.

The Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Hoang Tu, evaluated the active solidarity of the members of the LDPD as a significant contribution to the world-wide anti-imperialist movement.

The following participated in the dinner from the LDPD: Chairman Dr Manfred Gerlach, deputy chairman of the State Council of the GDR, Deputy Chairman Willi-Peter Konzok, member of the presidium of the People's Chamber (Volkskammer) of the GDR, Members of the Political Committee Dr sc Rudolf Agsten, Dr Gottfried Engelmann, Dr Witho Holland, Gerhard Lindner, Martin Maassen, Erich Rost, Prof Gertrud Sasse, Wilhelmine Schirmer-Proescher, Dr sc Guenter Schneider, Chairman of the Central Revision Commission of the LDPD Fritz Wolff; also party friend Harri Leupold, vice president of the League for Peoples' Friendship, the leader of the section for international work of the Central Board of the LDPD, Dr Rudi Mueller, as well as other leading representatives of the LDPD.

Manfred Gerlach Toast

East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 2 Mar 77 p 2

[Toast by LDPD Chairman Dr Manfred Gerlach at 1 March banquet in Weimar for foreign delegations to the 12th LDPD Congress]

[Text] Dear foreign guests!

Honored Ambassadors!

Dear Party Friends!

It has already become a tradition to give most cordial greetings here in this room on the eve of our party congresses our foreign guests who are

participating in the party congress. We welcome the delegation of the Democratic Party of the People's Republic of Poland under the leadership of its chairman Tadeusz Witold Mlynzak, the delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party under the leadership of its chairman Dr Bohuslav Kucera, who unfortunately will not arrive here until later from an international conference, and its General Secretary Jiri Fleyberk, and the delegation of the Liberal People's Party of Finland under the leadership of its chairman Prof Pekka Tarjanne.

With special pleasure we greet in our midst the Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in the GDR, Mr Hoang Tu. We are pleased that the Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassadors of the People's Republic of Poland, Jerzy Gawrasiak, of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Frantisek Hamouz, and of the Republic of Finland, Osmo Kock, also accepted our invitation.

Our party congress is taking place at a time of great world-historic events. Progressive mankind is preparing for the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution. Six decades ago the actual history of mankind began. Above all the most primary vital interest of people, peace, found a secure home. In recent years it has been possible to bring about a positive turn from the cold war to relaxation of tensions and to the triumph of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social orders. It has become possible to secure peace for mankind, thanks to the policy of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, and also as a consequence of the insights of realistically thinking circles in the nonsocialist countries.

We Liberal Democrats, like all citizens of the GDR, are united by a deep, unshakable friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union. This is a friendship of heart and deed. We know that by protecting and intensifying this friendship, by securing the community of all socialist states, we contribute to the peace and security of peace-loving people of the whole world. Peace and the forces of peace have their strongest support in the socialist community of states! These insights and these motives of action constitute the first and most important starting point for the action of Liberal Democrats--yesterday, today, and in the future.

The second and no less important starting point is the friendly allegiance and comradely cooperation which has been growing for more than 30 years with the leading and history-shaping force of our society: the working class and its party, the SED. The proven alliance policy of the working class and its party is the unshakable foundation for the fact that we Liberal Democrats, in the community of the National Front under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, have participated and participate creatively and with equal rights in the shaping of social processes. In this commonality of the National Front we have created a socialist state which guarantees peace, true democracy, and social progress. This is also the basis of the foreign policy goals of our German Democratic Republic.

The presence of our guests this evening at our 12th party congress emphasizes the following leading political principles of the LDPD:

--We Liberal Democrats, as citizens of the socialist German state, will do everything unceasingly to further strengthen and secure the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union. We will use our 12th party congress to give new impetus to political-ideological work with a view to the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution. We thus constantly take the offensive against the many varied forms of anticommunist and anti-Soviet slander and incitement.

--Socialistic fraternal bonds also unite us firmly and indissolubly with the other socialist states, especially with our immediate neighbors, the People's Republic of Poland and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The most fruitful relations of our party to the Democratic Party of Poland and to the Czechoslovak Socialist Party are testimony of how we contribute to the coming together of our peoples.

--We Liberal Democrats practice anti-imperialist solidarity with all peoples who are struggling for their national and social liberation. We actively support the progressive and revolutionary forces in the world. We are closely allied with our fraternal Vietnamese people, who, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam, are completing the construction of their fatherland, reunited in the sign of communism.

--We Liberal Democrats support the foreign policy goals of our state, working unmistakably for the consolidation of peace and freedom in Europe and in the world, and extending and stabilizing the results of the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social orders. The tradition-laden relations between the GDR and the Republic of Finland are an example of possible good cooperation in the interest of peace and understanding.

Honored friends, let me therefore raise my glass and drink to our dear guests, to their pleasant stay in Weimar and to continued good and fruitful cooperation for the benefit of our socialist community, and for the benefit of peace for all the peoples of the world.

8994

CSO: 2300

POLAND

POLISH DAILY DEBUNKS SCIENTIFIC NATURE OF ANTICOMMUNISM

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Mar 77 p 7 AU

[Article by Marek Jaworski: "Mechanisms of Anticommunism--Clad in Words"---fifth installment]

[Excerpts] The Western theoreticians of anti-communism are trying to prove in a "scientific" way that, for example, the sociopolitical changes in central and southeast Europe and in some Asian countries in the last stages of World War II and during the first postwar years were not the result of the class struggle, ideological revaluations and patriotism of the masses, but that they were effected by external interference or by a communist rebellion against lawful governments. Similar theories have also been put forward with regard to our country.

These scientists refuse to acknowledge that the struggle of the working masses for power was in fact a revolution. They present this struggle as a consequence of communist plots supported from the outside and as a result of overthrowing democracy and establishing a system of violence practiced by the police apparatus and security bodies. They fail to note that the communists' struggle for a revolutionary transformation of socio-economic and political relations stimulated not only the worker class but also other sections of the working people, headed by rural paupers, who profited most from these changes. The socialist revolution could never have succeeded in Poland no matter how strong external inspiration and help might have been but for the fact that this revolution had the support of the masses and a broad front of leftist and patriotic forces who saw in the country's socialist transformations a real prospect for improving its lot. In addition, the socialist revolution in Poland was not, as people in the West write, an act of exterminating its opponents. On the contrary, it was the forces of counterrevolution that spilled brotherly blood so generously. Let us recall that in those years some 30,000 Poles lost their lives in the struggle for socialism and that 22,000 of these victims belonged to the defenders of people's rule and 8,000 to its adversaries.

But historical truth, an objective evaluation of the sociopolitical realities in the countries of socialism and the interpretation of Marxism's theses and ideas in keeping with its spirit are of no interest to Western

"Marxologists," "Sovietologists" and so on. After all, their tasks are clear and the purpose of their "scientific" arguments are predetermined. Their aim is to discredit contemporary Marxism-Leninism as an alleged deviation from Marx's line and to prove that Marxism has outlived itself and represents a science that is incompatible with the present social reality.

The openly subversive and anticommunist nature of this pseudo-scientific production prejudices its cognitive value. Even in the cases of the "good will" displayed by some employees of the Western centers who pursue their own research themes, we must point up the basic limitations of their apparatus, namely, that whatever they do always represents an attempt to interpret Marx in a bourgeois manner and to invariably "exploit" Marx against Marxism.

The usefulness of the achievements of the present "Marxologists" and "Sovietologists" is bound to raise doubts even among the very sponsors of these activities as attested to by the most peculiar public action to "help" the two leading relevant U.S. centers at Columbia and Harvard Universities. University authorities organized a special press conference during which an appeal was made by urgent help for these centers which, according to the rector of Harvard, suffered from "acute financial asthma."

The organizers of the conference confessed that the reason for [this "asthma"] was the development of detente in international politics and a considerable drop in demand for the production of such centers. The popular NEW YORK TIMES stated at the same time that the vogue for such "specialists" is rapidly decreasing. "At one time they were regarded as preachers, comforters, prophets and scholars, but now doubts are arising as to the very meaning of their activities. They have become a species of creatures that is dying out in the era of detente."

This popular diagnosis of the bourgeois paper in a way makes clear what that "science" of anticommunism is, but let us have no illusions that this means a definite decline of this "science." It will be needed as long as anticommunism exists, after all the mantle of science, no matter how often its style and substance are changed, is a very convenient alibi for the activities which in actual fact have contempt for true science and which are merely interested in prosaic political benefits.

Anticommunism in an aureole of science can confuse representatives of broad public opinion, and this is why it is easy to predict that the crooked mirrors of "Marxology" and "Sovietology" will often be carefully refurbished and publicly exhibited....

CSO: 2600

ACTIVITY OF INTERNATIONAL FORWARDERS OUTLINED

Warsaw HANDEL ZAGRANICZNY in Polish No 10, Oct 76 pp 40-43

[Article by Ignacy Tarski: "Mixed Forwarding Companies"]

[Text] Essentially the activity of an international forwarder consists in organizing international transports and in particular in organizing the transfer of cargoes whose starting point and final destination are on the territory of two different countries. Consequently, this activity exceeds the boundaries of the country in which the forwarding enterprise has its domicile. Exceptions to this principle are instances where the conduct of transports involves only the territory of the domestic country (for instance import franco Polish border, fob exports) but even this mostly necessitates also contacts with a foreign forwarder or with a foreign forwarding enterprise. In most instances an international forwarder must also pursue his activities to a larger or smaller degree on the territory of other countries and in particular--with oversea cargoes--in foreign ports. Consequently, an international forwarder needs some kind of extension with the help of which he can extend his activity beyond the boundaries of his own country. This is effected in various ways.

The simplest but, at the same time, from the viewpoint of our foreign trade mostly the least advantageous, is the employment of temporary or permanent foreign representatives or foreign forwarding enterprises who receive their assignments (subassignments) from our international forwarder. Apart from the foreign-currency aspects (the fee of the foreign representative) this solution also has the further disadvantage that the entire process of transportation will be divided among two or more forwarders (in transit traffic there might be more than two). Although the primary contractor, that is our international forwarder, remains the main coordinator of the entire forwarding process and the foreign representatives, in turn, are only his subcontractors, the coordination and management of the entire forwarding process will certainly be more efficient if directed by one enterprise handling the organization of the entire process of delivering cargoes in international commerce from start to finish.

The other extreme which, to a large degree, eliminates the above-mentioned disadvantages, consists in establishing on the territory of a foreign country (in an important traffic junction and particularly in a seaport) a foreign branch office of the home enterprise. Big forwarding firms have their branches on the territory of many countries which, for the most part, are actually independent forwarding enterprises (affiliated enterprises) but, at the same time, organizationally and financially linked with the material forwarding enterprise on the territory of the country. A solution of this kind will be justified only if there are very large turnovers, and it will meet many substantial obstacles involving capital, foreign currency, legal problems (the nature of the enterprise and legal limitations existing in the given country), personnel and others.

Between these two extreme variants is an intermediate solution which, depending on concrete conditions, is essentially either closer to the first or to the second variant. It takes the form of a mixed forwarding company, in our case with partly Polish and partly foreign capital.

Which part did the Polish international forwarders take in their activities abroad?

The C. Hartwig enterprises frequently use the services of foreign representatives with whom they usually maintain permanent contacts (first variant). They do not have affiliated enterprises abroad (second variant). However, where such a requirement is justified, that is, in the first place, by the volume of Polish foreign trade in the given direction, mixed forwarding companies have been established which operate on the territory of a foreign country and perform to a large degree the function of foreign representatives of our C. Hartwig forwarding enterprises.

At this time (in 1976) six forwarding companies with participation of Polish capital exist and operate abroad, namely:

PSA Transport Ltd in London (plus five branch offices in Hull, Manchester, Tilbury, at the London Airport, and in the container terminal in London), BOTRANS SA in Paris (plus two branch offices in Paris and two branch offices on the border between France and the FRG).

POLTRANS Internationale Speditionsgesellschaft mbH in Cologne (plus two branch offices: in Hamburg and in West Berlin),

PSAL NV de transports internationaux in Antwerp,

PSAL Nederland BV in Rotterdam,

AMERPOL International Inc in New York.

These enterprises are companies under local laws, that is, under the laws of the country in which they are located. Consequently, it is not possible for all of them to be of uniform character in accordance with a single legal model because their character has to be adapted to local conditions

and to the requirements of the civil and trade codes in force in the given country. In principle two types of companies are thus being established: In the form of stock companies and--with various alterations specific for the given country--in the form of companies with limited liability (viz Table 1).

Table 1

Legal Forms of Mixed Forwarding Companies

<u>Name of the Company</u> (abbreviated)	<u>Legal Form</u>	<u>Year of Foundation</u>
PSA Transport	Company with limited liability under English law	1940 (as Polish Steamship Agency, representative of the Polish merchant marine)
BOTRANS	Stock Company under French Law	1947
POLTRANS	Company with limited liability under West German law	1972
PSAL	Stock company under Belgian law	1946
PSAL Nederland	Stock company under Dutch law	1973
AMERPOL	Stock company under U.S. law	1975

These companies have not only somewhat different legal forms but also different funds of stock capital which are relatively small and amount to:

PSA Transport	10,000 Pounds
BOTRANS	502,500 Francs (French)
POLTRANS	300,000 Marks (FRG)
PSAL	12,000 Francs (Belgium)
PSAL Nederland	200,000 Guilders (Dutch)
AMERPOL	25,000 US\$

The share of Polish enterprises in the capital funds of the individual companies is different and varies between 25 and 100 percent. A 100-percent participation of Polish capital occurs only in the Belgian PSAL Company. The stock of this stock company is divided among Polish enterprises in the following manner:

	Percent
Polish Ocean Lines [PLO]	35
Polish Steamship Company [PZM]	35
C. Hartwig Szczecin	20
POLFRACHT	10
	<hr/> 100

Consequently, PSAL is not actually a mixed company in the above-mentioned definition since there is no foreign capital participation. It is, however, a mixed company in the sense that there is capital participation not only of a forwarding enterprise (C. Hartwig) but also of Polish shipping enterprises and of a Polish brokerage.

The share of Polish capital in the PSAL Nederland enterprise amounts to 76 percent (PSAL of Antwerp holds 51 percent of the stock, C. Hartwig Szczecin 15 percent and the Polish enterprise Calanda in Rotterdam 10 percent), and that of foreign capital to 24 percent.

In the PSA Transport enterprise of London almost all the capital is Polish (principal participant--C. Hartwig Gdynia).

C. Hartwig Warsaw has 25 percent of the stockholdings of the BOTRANS Enterprise.

In the POLTRANS Enterprise the capital fund is divided 50-50 between the C. Hartwig Warsaw forwarding enterprise and the forwarding enterprise Rhenus in Mannheim which closely cooperates with POLTRANS. POLTRANS frequently uses the warehouses and equipment of this enterprise.

Finally 60 percent of the capital fund (stock) of the AMERPOL Enterprise of New York belongs to the C. Hartwig Enterprise of Gdynia and 40 percent to the American firm AUT (American Union Transport and Forwarding Inc).

In mixed companies the actual influence on the enterprises activities is usually proportional to the share in stockholdings. But in the forwarding companies mentioned above this is not always so. The influence is larger or smaller depending on concrete conditions. In the BOTRANS Enterprise, for instance, it is comparatively larger than the holdings while the POLTRANS Enterprise is marked by the strong influence of the foreign partner.

In mixed companies the Polish participant is usually the enterprise which controls the respective company and supervises its activity. Thus the Polish supervisory enterprises are:

for PSA Transport - C. Hartwig Gdynia,

for BOTRANS Enterprise - C. Hartwig Katowice (though here the official participant is C. Hartwig Warsaw),

for POLTRANS Enterprise - C. Hartwig Warsaw.

for AMERPOL Enterprise - C. Hartwig Gdynia.

With regard to their multiple activities (not forwarding alone) the enterprises PSAL of Antwerp and PSAL Nederland of Rotterdam are not subordinated to any of the HARTWIG enterprises but are directly supervised by the

Ministry of Foreign Trade and Maritime Economy. C. Hartwig Szczecin as one of the participants is the only coordinator of the activities of all Polish C. Hartwig international forwarding enterprises in relation to both these companies.

Subordination to one of the C. Hartwig enterprises does not exclude mutual cooperation between these forwarding enterprises and other C. Hartwig international forwarding enterprises. Thus, for instance, BOTRANS cooperates with the C. Hartwig Katowice Enterprise (which supervises its activities) in the sphere of:

- transports by rail between Poland and France,
- truck hauls between Poland and France substituting for transport by rail (particularly of excessively bulky or heavy cargoes),
- transport of animals (care and escort and organization of transports),

with the C. Hartwig Warsaw Enterprise in the sphere of:

- truck hauls of foreign trade freights between Poland and France and of transit freights through France,
- air transport Warsaw-Paris, Warsaw-Lyons, and vice versa,
- handling of transits through Poland,
- transport services for trade fairs and exhibitions,
- handling of private freights,

with the C. Hartwig Szczecin Enterprise in the sphere of:

- cargoes carried by Polish vessels to and from French ports or Antwerp.

In addition BOTRANS cooperates with PSAL Enterprise (transports by sea to and from Antwerp) and with POLTRANS Enterprise (procurement of return cargoes with the aim of a better utilization of rolling stock).

What is the scope of the activities of mixed enterprises? How should they be qualified? In the category of straight forwarding? Or among the activities of transport-forwarding agencies?

In principle all these enterprises deal with international forwarding, but the scope of this activity in the individual companies varies.

PSA Transport of London is a straight forwarding enterprise, that means that it does not direct transport operations but only organizes transports. The original enterprise named Polish Steamship Agency was an agent and representative of the Polish merchant marine but also engaged in transportation. Later the enterprise GAL in London took over the representation of Polish shipowners and the PSA Enterprise retained only forwarding activities, particularly forwarding by sea. Actually PSA Transport today also engages in organizing transports by rail, truck, or air though these are rarer occasions. Rail transportation is frequently more profitable than transportation by sea, particularly with bulky freights (for instance transport

of containers for canned goods to Poland). PSA Transport used trucks of the PEKAES Enterprise for International Truck Transports (PMPS PEKAES) for organizing transports from Norway through Poland to the Middle East. It has its branch office at the airport in London and also performs the function of an air freight forwarder.

BOTRANS is a universal enterprise for straight forwarding. It owns, however, two trucks of a carrying capacity of 30 tons. It organizes transports in all branches of transportation. But if we view the activities of this enterprise from the viewpoint of the basic indicators for the work of a forwarder, (that is the volume of freight handled and/or the number of forwarding operations), we see a marked specialization. The volume of the mass of goods handled seems to indicate that this is a railroading enterprise (63.7 percent of the total in 1975) but at the same time the number of forwarding operations as well as financial indicators clearly speak for the fact that we are dealing with a predominantly trucking enterprise (viz Table 2).

Table 2

Percentage Share of the Branches of Transportation in the Freight Handled by BOTRANS Enterprise in 1975

Branch of Transportation	Volume of Goods	Forwarding Operations	Turnovers	Gross Profits
Rail transports	63.7	30.3	27.8	26.0
Truck transports	11.4	52.9	52.9	54.8
Transports by Sea	23.4	7.0	10.6	8.3
Transports by Air	0.1	9.7	2.9	1.1
Others	1.4	0.1	5.8	9.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

POLTRANS is a transportation-forwarding enterprise. It owns eight trucks including four with refrigeration. However, in the organization of transports it also uses trucks from the PMPS PEKAES and others. With regard to the volume of freight handled by the individual branches of transportation POLTRANS is primarily a forwarder by rail (especially its headquarter in Cologne) and by sea (especially its branch office in Hamburg). In 1975 52.8 percent of turnovers handled by POLTRANS were transported by rail, 43.3 percent by sea and 3.9 percent by truck.

The activities of the AMERPOL Enterprise are limited to transportation by sea and by air. It is, therefore, primarily a shipping company while, at the same time, also a multifunctional enterprise, because in addition to forwarding it is also an agency for tramp ships, foreign shipowners and fishing vessels. It also performs the function of a clearing broker. It has rolling stock of its own.

The PSAL and PSAL Nederland enterprises, on the other hand, have the most explicitly multifunctional character. They are, in fact, agencies and brokerages which, in addition, also engage in international forwarding. In the sphere of transportation PSAL is primarily a trucking enterprise which, moreover, organizes transports on inland waterways on a considerable scale. Its activities as agent and broker, on the other hand, involve overseas shipping (line and tramp traffic, and charters).

If we omit these two enterprises because of their multifunctional character as well as AMERPOL with regard to the short time of its existence (in the second half of 1975 the turnovers of AMERPOL amounted to barely 41,200 tons by sea and 100 tons by air) the size of the remaining three mixed forwarding companies shows that they belong to the group of smaller international forwarding enterprises whose turnover does not exceed half a million tons per year. Let us take a look at the volume which they handled in 1975.

In 1975 PSA Transport handled turnovers of nearly 177,000 tons. They consisted mainly of freight hauls in international exchanges between Poland and Great Britain (96.4 percent), predominantly various small goods. The directional structure of these turnovers is as follows (in thousand tons):

1. From Poland to Great Britain	44.2
including	
by sea	38.7
by land	5.5
2. From Great Britain to Poland	123.2
including	
by sea	116.1
by land	7.1
3. In other directions	9.5
Total	176.9

The turnovers registered by BOTRANS Enterprise in 1975 were not much larger. They totaled 224,700 tons of which 199,100 tons (that is 88.6 percent) consisted of exchanges between Poland and France. The share of each branch of transportation and of exports from Poland and imports to Poland are shown in Table 3.

Turnovers of BOTRANS Enterprise in 1975
(in thousand tons)

Branch of Transportation	Total	Including Polish-French Exchanges
by rail	143.0	134.6
by truck	25.7	24.9
by sea	52.6	37.0
by air	0.2	0.1
by inland waterways	3.2	2.5
Total	224.7	199.1
including		
exports from Poland	49.4	40.1
imports to Poland	175.3	159.0

The large majority of rail transports (104,900 tons that is 73.4 percent) consisted of full freight car loads among which freights from France to Poland were in overwhelming predominance. The remaining cargoes consisted of small goods, live animals, tractors and agricultural machinery.

Truck hauls consisted of:

freights from Poland to France	4,700 tons
freights from France to Poland	20,000 tons
others	800 tons
total	<u>25,700 tons</u>

These freights were carried by BOTRANS' own rolling stock and by transportation from PMPS PEKAES, PLO and POLTRANS.

Sea cargoes were predominantly small goods (37,000 tons that is 70.3 percent) from French ports (29,600 tons) and from the port of Antwerp (7,400 tons).

Air freights from Poland to France and vice versa amounted to 128 tons and in other directions to 68 tons totaling 196 tons.

The structure of the volume of goods handled by BOTRANS varied greatly as, for instance:

From Poland to France--live animals (horses, sheep and rams, altogether about 100,000 heads), machine tools, agricultural machinery, tractors, electrotechnical equipment, instruments, sporting goods, readymade clothing, vodka, ice cream, complete installations, sheet metal, containers, chemicals, folkloric products, exhibits, plywood, woodware, coal and Polish Fiat cars;

From France to Poland: complete installations (for instance hotels), chemicals, various instruments, machinery, cosmetics, alcoholic products, food (for PEWEX and BALTONA), textiles, elevators and means of transportation (buses), rolled materials, (sheet metal, pipes and rods).

In 1975 POLTRANS had the biggest turnovers. They totaled more than 473,000 tons, namely:

	thousand tons in round figures
by rail	250
by sea	205
by truck	<u>18</u>
Total	473

This comprised mainly various small goods but there were also large freights. Thus, for instance, rail transports to Poland included iron, and metals; truck transports chemicals, drugs, building materials, machine parts, and heavy cargoes; truck transports from Poland meat and fowl. A very large assortment of cargoes was transported by sea. Of these 80 percent consisted

of iron, pig iron and tubes from the Ruhr Basin to Hamburg by rail and from there by ship to Poland; the rest consisted of various small goods, for instance fruit concentrates, wool, cotton, fruit, cocoa, and so on. The entire maritime forwarding service was handled by the POLTRANS branch office in Hamburg. This involved mainly freights in commerce between Poland and the FRG but POLTRANS also used Hamburg as a port of transit. This port was also used in Polish foreign trade turnovers with countries overseas whenever there were difficulties with transloading in Poland ports and POLTRANS moreover handled transit cargoes from other countries, for instance a certain amount of Hungarian, Romanian, Bulgarian, Czechoslovak and Austrian transits and even oversea transits from Egypt. The aggregate shipping volume of 205,100 tons included 36,100 tons (17.6 percent) of transit freights. In 1975 transports by sea were considerably smaller than in 1974 because imports on iron and metals by STAL-EXPORT were discontinued. In 1974 oversea commerce through Hamburg handled by POLTRANS amounted to almost 400,000 tons and dropped to almost half of this in 1975.

In spite of the reduction in POLTRANS turnovers all forwarding companies mentioned above are still in a stage of continuous development. Three of them are in existence since the 1940's and three enterprises were established in later years. However, all of the above-mentioned mixed companies are experiencing the difficulties of growth. This is connected with a number of problems.

The existence and further development of a forwarding enterprise in the form of an international mixed company is mainly based on a sufficiently large and continually increasing volume of goods whose transportation services the enterprise has to handle. This depends mainly on the volume and structure of Polish turnovers with the given country. Even if we assume that turnovers will continually increase it is necessary to convince our foreign trade enterprises as well as our partners abroad about the advantageousness of availing themselves of the services of our mixed companies either directly or through the agency of the C. Hartwig enterprises. This requires increased promotional and marketing activities which should also encompass potential transit partners.

A growth in turnovers is liable to influence the cost reduction of transportation services but, at the same time, raises problems involving the further development and expansion of the enterprises. The first difficulty in this respect is the necessity of increasing the capital of the companies. We must not forget that these are expenditures in foreign exchange. What will be needed most are further investments (warehouses and eventually purchase of a fleet of trucks).

The second difficulty involves cadre problems. In this field the situation can be illustrated by the following example. PSA Transport employs about 60 employees of whom about one-sixth are Polish. At BOTRANS the overwhelming majority of personnel is French and only three employees are from Poland. Almost 50 percent of the personnel employed at the branch office

of POLTRANS in Hamburg is Polish (including all managers). The further growth of enterprises might necessitate an increase in the number of Polish employees with great expertise and knowledge of the problems of international forwarding and, at the same time, perfect mastery of foreign languages. This is not an easy problem.

Problems of organization and structure also deserve consideration. Should, in particular, the organizational structure of all mixed companies be uniform or should it be adapted to concrete local conditions? Both solutions have their merits and faults but the policy of adjusting in a flexible manner to the situation in the locality and country where the enterprise operates seems more appropriate. How far should this flexibility be carried? The mutual relations between the mother company of C. Hartwig and the mixed company as well as the relation trade attache-mixed company should be more precisely defined. How far should the independence of the mixed company be advanced in both instances? Should (as so far in the enterprises PSAL and PSAL Nederland) forwarding activities be combined with those of an agent and broker? Or should forwarding operations be totally concentrated in one enterprise alone because in a multifunctional enterprise they might be somewhat neglected? With the further growth of turnovers the second solution appears more appropriate. Should mixed companies always and in all instances be only straight forwarding enterprises or should there also be transporting-forwarding enterprises employing in a larger degree their own rolling stock and realizing transports on their own account?

It is finally necessary to emphasize the necessity of involving our forwarding companies far more actively with modern technology of transportation and in particular with containerization. Today almost all our mixed companies are already on a larger or smaller scale involved in handling container transports, most of all PSA Transport. It acts as a container forwarding agent on the basis of a 1973 agreement of PSA Transport and PLO with the United Baltic Corporation (UBC). In 1975 container freights handled by PSA Transport totaled 62,100 tons that is 35.1 percent of the aggregate turnovers handled by this company (including 28,900 tons from Great Britain to Poland, 27,400 tons from Poland to Great Britain, and 5,800 tons elsewhere). The assortment of goods transported in containers was as follows: to Poland--tires, tea, latex, synthetic rubber, bathtubs for hotels, candy confection, chocolate and chemicals; from Poland--vegetable and fruit conserves, bacon, some alcoholic products, furniture, and plywood. Ninety-nine percent of the container transports are conducted "from house to house" and on the territory of Great Britain containers are hauled by trucks (90 percent) and over distances of more than 200-300 miles by rail. Frequently the containers are operatively passed on among the branch offices of PSA Transport which have their own container warehouses. This kind of transportation shows the substantial advantages of containerization in addition to cost reduction. Thus, for instance, with traditional means of transportation the delivery time was 5-6 days (delivery of the cargo to the port) but with container transports only 1-2 days. Three years ago machines were forwarded in boxes (the price of one box was 200-350 Pounds) but today in containers without boxes. Latex which was transported in steel casks is today packed in cheaper and lighter plastic casks.

The tasks of mixed forwarding companies in the sphere of handling container freights can be expected to increase at the same rate at which the system of container transportation will be further expanded and developed.

8176

CSO: 2600

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

VETERANS' COMPLAINTS--Every working day the commission on petitions and complaints in the Federal Council of SUBNOR (Federation of the Veterans' Associations of the National Liberation War) receives an average of 14 requests and complaints from veterans. A total of 2,866 complaints were received in 1976, or 18 percent more than in 1975 when 2,536 complaints were received. Most complaints pertained to housing allocation, followed by complaints regarding veterans length of service, pensions, and employment. In the last 2 years the commission has received 1,452 complaints on unresolved housing questions and 1,154 complaints on irregularities in regard to length of service for veterans. It appears that veterans have the most difficulty reconciling themselves with the technocratic and bureaucratic relationship of authorized organs [of government] in achieving individual rights. But in addition to complaints regarding their own problems, there is also the desire to point in this way to various negative situations in certain areas, to the existence of groups which are disrupting unity or damaging inter-personal relations, and to the illegal enrichment of individuals. Veterans are bothered most of all when persons whose conduct during the war was hostile obtain responsible positions in society. [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Mar 77 p 6]

CSO: 2800

END